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RECORDS
OF THE
American Catholic Historical Society
OF
PHILADELPHIA

Volume XXXIII



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1922

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**THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PHILADELPHIA**

VOL. XXXIII

MARCH, 1922

No. 1



Records
of the
**American Catholic
Historical Society**
of
Philadelphia

WITH WHICH IS COMBINED
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

Published Quarterly by the Society

715 SPRUCE STREET, PHILADELPHIA

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American Catholic Historical Society.

\$2.00 PER YEAR

SINGLE NUMBER, 50 CENTS

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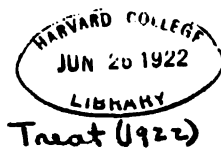
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INDEX OF THE RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This much-needed compilation, so long contemplated and promised, is about to become a reality. The compiler has finished his laborious task, which, knowing from long experience the worthlessness of a mere alphabetical list of proper names, he has made an analysis, a digest, of the thirty-one volumes published by the Society from 1886 to the end of 1920.

The utility of the work has already been illustrated. Soon after finishing the arranging of the cards in alphabetical order, a request came to the Society from the War Department in Washington for information about a Captain John Smith, a Catholic who had rendered valuable service in the Revolution. The *Index* answered the query at once. In contrast with this incident is an experience of some forty-two years ago, four or five years before our Society was founded. An elderly lady had several times made inquiries about the whereabouts or fate of a Rev. Thomas R. Butler, a priest once well known in Philadelphia. The query could not be answered, there being

then not even a set of Catholic Directories within reach. This Index, however, tells us that the said priest had gone West from Baltimore and had labored in Illinois and Kentucky; inquiry of the Diocesan Secretary of Louisville or Chicago would probably have elicited the desired information.

It is not claimed, however, that every such question can be answered from this source; for the Society has published but a small portion of the information needed for a complete history of the Church in North America. Let us hope and strive, then, that the good work be continued until every scrap of extant information be transferred to the pages of the RECORDS.

Nevertheless these volumes are a veritable treasury of Catholic historical knowledge. Their most important contents may be divided into three classes, namely, historical compositions, transcripts of church registers, and other records and letters from bishops, priests, and Catholic laymen. Geographically, Philadelphia and Pennsylvania occupy the largest space in the first and second categories, while Baltimore, Charleston, Kentucky, and Mississippi Valley, Boston, and Quebec are prominent in the third. Acadia, Maine, the dioceses of Albany and Ogdensburg, New York; Wilmington, Delaware; Omaha, Nebraska; California, Oregon, and Texas fare very well, and to a less extent Iowa and Ohio, in the first.

Goshenhoppen, Pennsylvania, known in later times as Churchville, and lastly as Bally, boasts of the oldest register in the Thirteen Colonies; and this, as well as its successors to the early years of the nineteenth century, are reproduced, while a biography of Father Bally, S. J., continues the history down to our own time. Though the Philadelphia mission antedates it by a dozen years, yet the extant registers of St. Joseph's begin only in 1758, with the coming of Father Farmer, S. J.; and these are published, the baptisms

to 1810, the marriages to 1836, with a gap of a little over four years (1786-1790), which, it is hoped, will soon get filled. We have here also the early marriage and baptismal registers of St. Augustine's and Holy Trinity, as well as detailed histories of the beginnings of both churches, and the Minute Book of St. Mary's Trustees from the beginning to the year 1811. Herein may be detected the beginnings of the trustee evil, so vividly depicted in the lives of Fathers Goetz and Elling, of Holy Trinity, and the arch-disturber Hogan at St. Mary's, whose career and character are described and depicted in the Life of Bishop Conwell, distributed through Vols. 24-29. Other early Pennsylvania registers and histories to be found here are those of Lancaster and Greensburg and Sportsman's Hall, now known the world over as St. Vincent's, the first home and Abbey of the Cassinese Benedictines in the United States, whose story is told by one of themselves. Other beginnings of Pennsylvania missions recorded here are those of Carlisle, Columbia, Elizabethtown, and the Philadelphia parishes of St. John the Evangelist, St. Ann, the Assumption, and our Mother of Sorrows under its old name of St. Gregory's.

No less valuable than the church registers as sources of our ecclesiastical history are the letters and allied documents so numerous reproduced in these volumes. The foremost place belongs to those of the Propaganda leading up to the erection of the see of Baltimore and the appointments of its first bishop, in which Franklin's friendly part is incidentally established. Then come those from and to Father, Bishop and Archbishop Carroll, copies from the Baltimore archives, while the Quebec archives furnish others bearing not only on the Church in Baltimore and Philadelphia, but also in the Mississippi Valley. Of almost, if not quite, equal value is the correspondence of Bishop Cheverus with the Vernon-Bonneuil family. In addition to the "Diary and Visitation Book" of Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick and the "Ken-

rick-Frenaye "Correspondence", both edited and published independently of the Society, we find in its RECORDS many letters from him and from and to his confidential agent, M. A. Frenaye, and from his brother Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick, of St. Louis.

Bishop England's Diurnal or daily record of his visitations and ministrations during the first few years of his episcopate is indispensable in writing the history of the beginnings of his vast diocese and to a correct understanding of the Hogan schism in Philadelphia. Of wider scope are his letters to friends in Rome and reports to Propaganda on the needs of the Church under his jurisdiction and even throughout the United States. His twenty years' correspondence with Judge Gaston of North Carolina are also of great historical value.

Two other collections of diaries and letters worthy of special mention, because of their bearing on events and persons contemporary with their authors, are those of Father Joseph Mosley, S. J., founder of the second mission on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and of the Rev. Patrick Kenny, third pastor of Coffee Run, and first of Wilmington, Delaware, whose quaint and naive entries and comments, prefaced with an account of his career, by the late Joseph Willcox, lend a unique interest to these pages. Wilmington, then, was only the fourth mission established in the present diocese of that name. The history of the first, Bohemia, Maryland, is admirably told by the late Rev. E. I. Devitt, S. J., who has made, as editor, several other contributions of original material to these volumes, as well as a masterly survey of the Church in America. Among them are letters from the Rev. Dr. Matignon on the origin of the Church in Boston.

Monographs of local and family history and of biography both religious and secular are numerous in these volumes. The most prolific and charming of the authors of these

ecclesiastical chronicles is the Rev. Dr. Middleton, O. S. A., the first President of the Society, who is still with us. Besides the illuminating introductions and notes which he has furnished to the Philadelphia and Goshenhoppen church registers, he has written detailed accounts of the Church in Lansingburgh, Mechanicville and Carthage, New York, and Atlantic City, New Jersey, in which he tells also the story of the beginnings of Catholicity in the three dioceses in which these places are located. He also tells us, with the added charm of a personal and family interest, the dramatic story of his native parish, St. Mary's or Our Mother of Consolation, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

No less painstaking and thorough is the restoration of a lost chapter in American Church history, the story of the Capuchin missions in Acadia, by Father John Lenhart, O. M. Cap., who also proves himself a masterly historical critic in his strictures on Richard and D'Arles' "Acadia" and Gosselin's account of the Church in Canada under early English rule. Equally judicious is the Rev. Henry C. Schuyler's treatment of the labors and murder of Father S. Rale, S. J., apostle of the Abnakis on the Kennebec. Other excellent historical essays are Dr. Flick's account of the French Trappists in the United States (1803-1815), his life of the Rev. P. Henry Lemke, O. S. B., the story of Arch-Abbott Wimmer, O. S. B., and the establishment of his Order in Western Pennsylvania, the late C. H. A. Esling's narrative of the beginnings of Catholicity in Delaware, Father Croquet's mission among Oregon Indians, Clinch's history of the Jesuits in California, the beginnings of the Church in Omaha and Nebraska and the life of the second bishop there, James O'Connor, brother of the first bishop of Pittsburgh and, like him, for a time Rector of St. Charles' Seminary, Philadelphia. Mention might also be made of many other sketches besides those of early times in Cleveland and Zanesville, Ohio.

Sisterhoods receive no small share of attention in these volumes. It is not generally known that eight of them had their origin in this country, three of which claim Philadelphia as their birthplace. The history of two of these is recorded by Miss Flintham, namely, the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin, removed to Dubuque in 1844, and the Franciscan Tertiaries. Here is also an account of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, founded in Charleston by Bishop England, some twenty years before the Irish Sisters of Mercy were introduced by Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburgh. But the most elaborate sketches of native religious orders of women is that of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, begun in Monroe, Michigan, and now strongest in eastern Pennsylvania. The dramatic story of another order, semi-American, begun in England by a native of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Cornelia (Peacock) Connelly, is told by Father Tourscher, O. S. A.; while the late Sara Trainer Smith throws much light on the origin of Mother Seton's American Sisters of Charity, in her biography of Cecilia O'Conway, "Philadelphia's First Nun", with whom in that work was associated Miss Annie Murphy, a niece of Mathew Carey; and so also does Dr. Flick in his Life of Mathias James O'Conway and his other children. There is here, too, an outline history of the Ursulines in America, a documentary record of the bringing to Cincinnati, and to America, by Bishop Purcell, of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. Scattered throughout the volumes are numerous references to these and to other Sisterhoods. Two of the most noteworthy episodes in this line are the Rev. Dr. Heuser's account of the first superior of the Sisters of Mercy in Philadelphia, Mother M. Patricia Waldron, and Miss Smith's history of Satterlee Hospital in West Philadelphia, conducted by the Sisters of Charity during the Civil War.

Prominent Catholic laymen of the Revolution period and

later, besides the Captain John Smith already alluded to, receive no small share of attention. The late Admiral R. W. Meade tells us of his great-grandfather, George Meade and other members of the family. Martin I. J. Griffin, whose work on Bishop Conwell was rewritten and published after his death, exhaustively records the careers of George Meade's brother-in-law, Thomas Fitz-Simons, merchant and statesman, Commodore John Barry, "Father of the American Navy", and Thomas Lloyd, first stenographic reporter of Congress. For later times we have biographies of such distinguished converts as Professor S. S. Halderman, Dr. W. E. Horner, Dr. J. D. Bryant, and Dr. J. V. Huntington, and Letters of Bishop Kenrick to another convert, Professor George B. Allen. There are also lives of several eminent sons of Catholic parents.

But no action of the above named families is now identified with the Catholic life of Philadelphia; nor of two others, whose founders came here as exiles from San Domingo. The story of one of them, Jacques Andre Rodrigue, of his two sons, William, civil engineer and architect, who married a sister of Archbishop Hughes, and Dr. Aristide, and of his two daughters, who for a time conducted a school in Philadelphia, and then became the wives of Judge R. L. Johnson and James Maguire, both of Cambria County, Pennsylvania, is told in a copious correspondence edited by Miss Jane Campbell. The history of the other, John Keating, a native of Ireland who rose to rank of Captain in the French army, as well as of his ancestors and descendants, is told by his great-grandson, the late Joseph Percy Keating, the last male member of this branch of the family. He was closely identified with the Catholic interests of Pennsylvania, and for a time of Wilmington, Delaware, from 1792 until his death in 1850. But in the female line he is represented by the present generation of the oldest Catholic family here, the descendants of Thomas Willcox, an Eng-

lishman, who settled in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, nearly two centuries ago. A member of the family, the late Joseph Willcox, has furnished all the available information about it, supplemented by Miss Sara Trainor Smith's chapter on the second wife of James Mark, grandson of Thomas.

One of the many revelations of history recorded here is the account of the martyrdom of Jesuit missionaries on the Rappahannock in 1571. Dominicans had been on the James nearly half a century earlier, so the English were not the first white men in the present State of Virginia. It is also settled that Columbus had a priest with him on his first voyage, and that he was an Italian and the first Vicar Apostolic of America.

Three interesting and edifying chapters of the history of our own time are Father Tourscher's account of the work of the Sisterhoods of the Philadelphia diocese in the epidemic of 1918, the Rev. Thomas C. Brennan's record of the work of the Overbrook seminarians as grave-diggers, etc., on the same occasion, and the latter's description of Cardinal Mercier's triumphant tour through the United States and Canada.

Every bishop and priest and very many lay persons mentioned in the RECORDS are named in the Index in such a way as to tell their whereabouts and movements and why their names are here, while the system of cross-references makes it easy to find any desired information. We are confident the work will be duly appreciated by all seekers after Catholic historical knowledge.

"THE JESUITS" ¹

Whatever may be the merits or the demerits of the Society of Jesus, there can be no doubt that her sons have attracted to themselves a very large share of the world's attention from her birth down to the present day. She has had her warm friends and her bitter persecutors, her enthusiastic admirers and her unsparing critics; but among those whose horizon is not hopelessly limited, it would be hard to find any to whom the doings of the Society are a matter of indifference.

Hence the appearance of a history of the Jesuits by a distinguished member of the Order is an event which could not fail to waken a wide interest. Father Campbell's work moreover has this advantage, that he has been able to draw for his material upon the most recent histories, which have been compiled for the various divisions of the Society from authentic sources by some of its most gifted writers. He is also himself a writer of no mean experience, and although his present work is undoubtedly the most comprehensive he has thus far undertaken, it may be said without fear of contradiction that it is an unusually readable book. It is, to be sure, a bulky volume, as one of its critics, not certainly overkind in his criticism, remarks; but we think it would be difficult to find another of equal length which holds the attention of the reader so uniformly from beginning to end.

This we should say is due to the decidedly popular style in which the book is written, and it appears to us that certain features which the same unfriendly reviewer regards as defects may from the point of view of the average reader

¹THE JESUITS. By the Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. Encyclopedia Press, N. Y.

be held to be positive virtues. There is a spiciness about the passing biographical notices, the little incidents and episodes introduced here and there, the minor and sometimes minute details, and up-to-date references, which admirably serve the purpose of keeping the interest from flagging, while at the same time the general result is a perspective quite as satisfactory as the great mass of readers would derive from a more scientific work.

There can be no doubt that the subject is a vast one, so vast indeed that it could not be handled with completeness in ten equally bulky volumes. For the history of the Society must cover the activities of a body of men whose vocation it is to travel and to go wherever there is hope of advancing the glory of God and the salvation of souls. It must embrace a field of labor no less extensive than the world itself. It must show us the Society at work, and depict for us the wonderfully varied operations, by which, for a period of almost four centuries, it has sought to achieve its end, amid races of men the most divergent in their habits and characters, and in the face of physical as well as moral obstacles that would have appaled laborers of less virile mould. And Father Campbell has endeavored to do all this, and we think that the general verdict will be that he has succeeded, and with a measure of success that is far from mediocre. His narrative, it is true, is in many instances fragmentary—How could it be otherwise within the limits he has set himself? In some cases, too, his account of this or that event, of this or that plot, with which the enemies of the Society have sought to associate it, is likely to disappoint the critics of some particular nationality; but everybody knows how hopeless a task it is to think of pleasing everybody, especially where national bias is apt to figure.

The book opens very properly with an interesting disquisition on the origin of the name "Jesuit", and on the odium which has long attached to it. St. Ignatius, however,

is not responsible for its use. He himself wished his Society to be known as the "*Compañía de Jesus*," *compañía* being a military term, for which it would be hard to find an exact equivalent in Latin. The word *Societas*, which was chosen as the nearest approach, the author labels "a clumsy attempt at a translation," but after all it would be difficult to suggest a better and we have adopted it in our own language.

A brief account of the life of St. Ignatius follows; and then the author describes at length the famous "Spiritual Exercises", examining them in detail, defending them against blind and hostile criticism, and justifying the claims of St. Ignatius to the authorship of the book. The name itself, and most of the documents comprised in the Exercises do indeed antedate the conversion of the Soldier-Saint, yet it was he who, chiefly in the cave at Manresa, gave to the work that coherence and logical sequence which are its very essence, and to which it owes the peculiar and marvelous efficacy it possesses for bringing about the conversion of the heart, and the thorough reform of the Christian life.

We are next made to follow St. Ignatius, first to Palestine, then back to Europe, and to the Universities of Alcalá, Salamanca, and Paris, where he studied, and are introduced to the group of remarkable young men whom he first attracted to his side. The vows at Montmartre, the journey to Venice, the failure to find a ship to take them to the Holy Land, and their consequent resolve to repair to Rome, and put themselves entirely at the disposal of the Holy Father for any work in which he might wish to employ them, are successively described, and the first chapter closes with a brief analysis of the formula of the Institution of the Society of Jesus, as submitted to Pope Paul III, and of the Constitutions of the Society which were drawn up later, and approved by the first General Congregation.

It is not the purpose of the present review to enter into all the details of the history of the Jesuits, following the

narrative chapter by chapter. It would be wearisome to the reader, and would serve no useful end. The aim is rather to call attention to the more salient points of the history, in order that the reader, having his interest once aroused, may be led to undertake the perusal of the book for himself.

One of the greatest glories of the Society is the important part played by several of her distinguished sons in the deliberations of the Council of Trent. Lainez and Salmerón were there as theologians of the Pope. They were obliged to be present at all the sessions, and were privileged to speak as long as they chose on any topic. LeJay and Canisius were theologians to the Cardinal Archbishop of Augsburg. All were remarkably young—Lainez, the eldest, being but thirty-four; and Canisius, the youngest, only twenty-six; and though on that account perhaps, as well as for other motives, they were looked upon by many of the Fathers of the Council with a certain degree of suspicion, they soon gained the entire confidence of the latter by their manifest holiness, wonderful learning, and uncompromising orthodoxy.

The saving of a great part of Germany to the faith was due under God to the incredible activity and energy of Faber, LeJay, and Canisius, whose zeal wrought wonders, while their heroic example stimulated others, and encouraged them to throw themselves generously into the fray, and to combat by every available means the wiles and violence of the heretics. There was, however, one institution which more than any other rendered yeoman's service in stemming the tide of irreligion, and winning back innumerable souls from error to the faith of their fathers, and from impiety to an exemplary life. This was the famous "Collegium Germanicum" or German College. In an embryonic form, it was the conception of St. Ignatius himself, whom its students venerate as its founder. But it is to Canisius that

it owes the perfect development which it attained not long after the death of St. Ignatius. It is a seminary for the formation in learning and virtue of German youths of promise, with a view to fitting them for the apostolic ministry among their own countrymen, and it has continued from its first inception to send forth from its halls a steady stream of evangelical laborers, who, by the plentiful fruits of their zeal, have fully justified the hopes that have been built upon them.

Obviously an account of the apostolic labors of the Jesuits in foreign countries must occupy a prominent place in a history of the Society of Jesus. At a time when the adventures of the great Spanish, Portuguese, and other explorers had opened up vast regions to trade and military conquest, it could not be that apostles would be wanting, or would fail to seize the rare opportunity thus afforded them of bringing the light of the Gospel to countless multitudes of their fellow-men, to whom the word of truth had not yet been preached.

No more glorious missionary has ever borne the standard of the Cross into heathen lands than Francis Xavier, the most renowned of the companions of St. Ignatius. It might seem to have been a mere accident that he was sent to labor in the Indies, but it was surely a disposition of Divine Providence, which destined for that immense and thickly populated continent a man of such truly apostolic zeal, such marvelous sanctity, and such exceptional judgment in dealing with men of the most varied characters.

Xavier's career was one unbroken triumph until, after accomplishing wonders in India and Japan, and laying broad the foundations of the Church in those regions, he at last set out from Malacca in the hope of effecting an entrance into China. But his well-laid plan had been frustrated through the malice of Don Alvero, Governor of Malacca, and he died a victim of fever on the little island of Sancian,

even at the gate of that vast empire which he had longed to bring to the feet of Christ.

His burning zeal, however, was not without abundant fruit. His heroism served as an inspiration to others, and half a century later we see the famous Father Ricci and his brethren at work in the very heart of China. Ricci was held in universal esteem, and wielded great influence with the educated classes in particular. He was even allowed eventually to open a novitiate at Peking, and when he died, the funeral procession which conducted his remains to their last resting-place was headed by the cross, and traversed the entire city. The Emperor assigned for his tomb a pagan temple, which thenceforward became a Christian church.

Ricci was succeeded first by Schall, and then by Verbiest, two eminent mathematicians and astronomers like himself, and enjoying extraordinary authority at court, which they used only to advance the interests of the religion they had come to preach.

It was Verbiest who first petitioned the Pope to give the necessary Sanction for the use of the Chinese language, instead of Latin, in the liturgy of the Church, the object being to facilitate the growth of a native clergy, and Father Campbell takes this occasion to refute for the second time the oft-repeated charge that the Society of Jesus opposed the elevation of natives to the priesthood. He had previously replied in a very effective manner to the same unfounded accusation when speaking of its labors in Japan.

In the chapter of which the heading is "The Two Americas", we find a detailed and most interesting description of the wonderful "Reductions of Paraguay", those peaceful settlements, nearly one hundred in number, where thousands of poor Indians, "brought back" from the wilderness and from habits of the most degraded savagery, led lives of incredible innocence, and, amid all the arts of

peace, and a genuine realization of their common brotherhood, renewed in the wilds of South America the miracle of the earliest days of Christianity.

The author, after having told in the chapter entitled "The Ends of the Earth", the earliest efforts of the Jesuits at evangelizing the native Indian tribes of this hemisphere, and having recounted briefly the heroic labors of Nobrega, and the "wonder-worker" Anthieta in Brazil, proceeds in this chapter to follow the missionaries step by step from Peru and Chile and Argentina, to Colombia, Guiana, and the Antilles, and thence to Mexico, and Lower California, and Pimeria, in connection with which he has much to say about that truly remarkable man, Father Eusebio Kino, whose long lost "Autobiography" has just been edited by Professor Bolton, and whose labors, together with those of his brethren, Salvatierra, Ugarte, and others, "made the work of Junipero Serra and the Franciscans in Upper California possible in later days".

Father Campbell stops here for a moment to brand another false statement about the Jesuits, to the effect that their "failure in Lower California must be attributed to their unwillingness to establish a hierarchy in that country." He then devotes a couple of paragraphs to the missions in the Philippines, historically related to those in Mexico, after which we are transported to Canada, and are given a summary of the labors of such heroes as Brébeuf, Lalemant, Jogues, Daniel, and others among the Hurons, the Algonquins, and various other Indian tribes, especially the savage Iroquois. These labors extended to portions of what are now the United States, and particular mention is made of the line of missions established by Le Moyne in the country itself of the Iroquois, all the way from the Hudson to Lake Erie.

The chapters which deal with the Jesuit foreign missions are enlivened throughout with incidents and adventures of

thrilling interest, such as the overland journey of Father Alexander de Rhodes all the way from Cochin-China through India to Europe and to Rome, amid hardships and dangers of every description: or the tramp of the Portuguese lay-brother, Benedict Goes, from Agra in upper Hindustan, across Thibet and China, among strange peoples, through trackless forests, and over snow-clad mountains, until, after five years of incredible fatigue and privations, he sank and died even within sight of the goal at which he was aiming.

Of another type are the self-imposed, almost impossible austerities of such men as De Nobili and Beschi, and the altogether singular life to which they condemned themselves in the hope of winning the Brahmins to the faith. What must have been its hardest features, apart from the misunderstandings to which it gave rise, was the strict seclusion they were forced to practise, even to the point of denying themselves all intercourse with their own brethren.

Their success however was great and almost immediate, and they won the admiration of the Hindoos as much for their extraordinary purity of life, as for their thorough knowledge of the native languages—Sanskrit, Telugu, and Tamil—and their remarkable familiarity with the literature of the country exceeding that of the Brahmins themselves.

The story of the threatened Spanish schism is told at length in an early chapter entitled, "The Great Storms". It is clear evidence of the entire candor of the historian, for he makes no attempt at justifying the conspirators, who at that early period came so near wrecking the work of their great compatriot, St. Ignatius. The account brings out in strong perspective the genius of Father Claudius Aquaviva, who was the General of the Society in those tempestuous days, and to whose courage, prudence, and exceptional ability it owes its preservation from the dissolution which menaced it. It also explains incidentally why men of Jewish or Saracenic origin are excluded from the Society: for it

was found that out of twenty-seven conspirators twenty-five were of Jewish or Moorish extraction.

A most interesting chapter is that on the "Battle of the Books". Here are reviewed at considerable length the famous "Monita Secreta," and the "Lettres Provinciales" of Blaise Pascal. Other libelous pamphlets had been previously published against the Jesuits, but these, because of their superior literary form, have attained the widest celebrity.

The former appeared under various titles and had an immense vogue. First published in Poland, it went through twenty-two editions in the seventeenth century, and was translated into many languages. It consists of only sixteen short chapters, and in phraseology was modeled upon the "Monita Generalia", an authentic work, a fact which accounts for the phenomenal success of the forgery. The author was a certain Tahorowski, who had been dismissed from the Society, and who before his death bitterly regretted his crime, and recanted all he had said. The work appeared from time to time under other titles, such as, "The Mysteries of the Jesuits," "The Jesuit Cabinet," "Jesuit Intrigues" etc., and there were, besides, fierce diatribes against the Society by various other authors, particularly in Germany and France. In the "Historia Jesuitici Ordinis" by Hasenmüller, the "Annales des soi-disants Jésuites," and "Le Catéchisme des Jésuites" by Pasquier, we have veritable storehouses of libels, misrepresentations and calumnies against the Society.

But it is the "Lettres Provinciales" of Pascal that did it most harm, from the fact that, while they repeated the slanderous accusations brought against the Society in the above-mentioned works, they were written in a most captivating style, which simply took the literary world by storm.

They do not seem to have been intended primarily as an attack upon the Jesuits, and it is only when the fifth letter is

reached that the Society is assailed, the assault continuing till the tenth, after which it is dropped.

It is Bourdaloue, the celebrated Jesuit orator, the preacher at the court of France, who, as Sainte-Beuve well observes, made the most telling reply to the accusations of the Provinciales—a reply which was all the more forcible on account of the well-known virtuous life of the speaker, the place he occupied in the public eye, and the fact that, while he abstained from mentioning their names, the traducers of the Society whom he pilloried before the world were easily recognized by the masterly portraits which he drew of them.

One of the most important works to which the Society of Jesus has from the first devoted itself is the education of youth, and it is the rare intelligence it has shown in its methods for the accomplishment of that end, and the indefatigable zeal with which it has pursued it through endless opposition, that more than anything else has brought upon it the implacable hatred of the enemies of the Church.

St. Ignatius had not in view, as the Constitutions plainly show, that his sons should be employed merely in what are now termed secondary schools, but he had chiefly in mind the higher education, and the faculties of philosophy and theology. It was hoped that the Society might come into possession of some of the existing universities of Europe, or might be invited to open new ones.

As a matter of fact, except in recent times, this hope has been but seldom realized, and mainly here in America, nor is it often that the sons of St. Ignatius have been called to fill a chair in any university. Full authorization had been granted to the Society by the Holy See to open her own courses, and to confer degrees, but for the sake of peace she refrained for the most part from making use of her powers.

Even her colleges were established in many instances in spite of determined opposition, and this was particularly the

case in France, where the dramatic appearance of Lainez, General of the Society, at the famous colloquy of Poissy, seems to have been largely responsible for its collapse, and for the legalization of the Society in France.

In Germany, between 1612 and 1625 there were as many as a hundred Jesuit Colleges, in some of which there were nine hundred, a thousand, and even thirteen hundred scholars. At about the same period, Belgium had thirty-four colleges or schools of the Society, while nearly all the cities of Italy had asked for similar institutions. Details of other countries are quoted by the author in his chapter, entitled "Culture".

In the same chapter, after an inquiry into the secret of the pedagogical success of the Jesuits, and a refutation of certain unfair, malicious, and even ridiculous charges leveled at their educational methods by unfriendly critics, Father Campbell passed on to a most interesting review of the achievements of the Society in the domain of letters. The list of its more prominent writers which he furnishes us is quite a lengthy one. It embraces poets, orators, historians, mathematicians, astronomers, geographers, grammarians and lexicographers, to say nothing of the theologians, philosophers, and ascetical writers, whom we might naturally have expected to find in greater numbers, seeing that their themes have a more direct bearing on the end which the Society has in view.

Among the poets mentioned, we are all familiar with the name of Robert Southwell, author of the "Burning Babe," who was so much admired by Ben Jonson, and whom Shakespeare also read. Jacob Balde, though little known to us, was a prodigy of classical scholarship, and was hailed in his days as the German Horace, while Sarbievius, a Pole, whose real name was Mathias Sarbiewski, is rated by Grotius even above Horace. Both of these wrote in Latin. So did Santeul and Masen. Beschi's "Unfading Garland,"

written in Tamil, an East Indian tongue, in honor of St. Joseph, is spoken of as a classic, and a satire by the same author is regarded as the most entertaining book in Tamil literature.

At the close of his remarks on the Jesuit poets, the author stops to pay a grateful tribute to Gresset, a poet of real ability, and most tenderly attached to the Society, but whose indiscretion in publishing a certain poem rendered his dismissal from it inevitable.

Bourdaloue comes in once more for a wonderful eulogy, drawn chiefly from the Protestant *Edinburgh Review*, and the Jansenist Sainte-Beuve. By his contemporaries he was called "The Great Bourdaloue," and even by his enemies he was styled "preacher of kings, and king of preachers". The roster of illustrious names from which we are quoting, contains one in particular which, though far less familiar to us, who are of another age, and of another tongue, was nevertheless revered throughout all France as that of the most accomplished literary critic of his day, to whom such masters of style as Bossuet, and Bourdaloue, Racine and others, were willing and eager to submit their writings, in order to have him pass judgment upon them. This was Father Dominic Bouhours, according to de Juleville, "the master of correct writing in his generation".

Of all the historical works of the Society the greatest is unquestionably the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, an undertaking so colossal that, although it was begun in the first years of the seventeenth century, and has been continued almost uninterruptedly to the present day, it still remains incomplete. It consists actually of sixty-four folio volumes, and several more are yet to appear.

To this great work an eminent critic attributes the beginning of modern geography. For the Bollandists gathered together the crude notes furnished by the early missionaries, and systematized them, thus giving a marked impetus to a study which has long since assumed huge proportions.

And certainly the field covered by the Jesuit explorers, who were not primarily in quest of linguistic, geographical, and ethnological data, but of souls, was vast and most varied. It comprised the Levant and the farthest east; it embraced Africa as well as Asia, together with the two Americas. And their work in most instances survives to the present day, a monument to their courage in facing and surmounting incredible obstacles, and an unimpeachable witness to their unflagging industry, no less than their whole-souled devotedness to the cause of the advancement of science.

The account given of the Spanish Jesuit, Father Pedro Páez, who ascended the Nile to its source in 1618, is a typical example of the occasional digressions whereby the author contrives to add so much zest to the general narrative. Páez was the first European of modern times to accomplish the above-mentioned feat of exploring the sources of the Nile. This he did a hundred and fifty-four years before the reputed discoverer, James Bruce, who is severely handled by *The Dictionary of National Biography* for attempting to throw doubt on Páez' prior claim.

After enumerating the many distinguished writers whom the Society has produced, in dogmatic, moral, and ascetic theology, and the names of illustrious Jesuit commentators on Holy Scriptures, Father Campbell calls attention to the number—not inconsiderable, when we take into account the troublous times in which its lot has been cast—who have won a place on the rôle of the most exalted heroes, the Saints and Blessed of Holy Church.

The great tragedy which befell the Society of Jesus toward the close of the eighteenth century was no sudden catastrophe. It had long been prepared by the deplorable conditions existing in the various countries of Europe—immorality in high places, and the wide dissemination among all classes of the people of the irreligious and atheistic principles which bore their full fruit in the French

Revolution. The Bourbon courts were leagued together in a conspiracy to destroy the Society—the courts being for the most part the tools of ambitious, crafty, and utterly unscrupulous men, Pombal in Portugal, Choiseul in France, Aranda in Spain, Tanucci in Italy.

The Society was expelled from the French, Portuguese, and Spanish dominions some years before the general suppression of the Society by papal brief throughout the world, and Father Campbell gives a graphic recital of the harrowing details of the expulsion, and of the utter callousness with which it was executed. Pombal's brutality, in particular, is made to stand out in all its revolting hideousness, and as it affected not only the members of the Society, but all of whatever rank or merit whom he regarded as in any way an obstacle to his unbridled greed and ambition.

The famous case of La Vallette, and his commercial transactions carried on in Martinique where he was superior, in defiance of canon law and of the laws of the Society, is taken up in the chapter entitled "Choiseul", where it is clearly shown that the Society was in no way responsible for the grave imprudences of which La Vallette was guilty, and for which nevertheless it was made to suffer so grievously.

It is in the same chapter on Choiseul, that the writer satisfactorily clears the French Jesuits and especially their Provincial, Father La Croix, of an act of quite incredible weakness, of which Father De Ravignan, without sufficient warrant, as it would seem, admits them to have been guilty.

It is inconceivable that they who had consistently stood forth as the unyielding champions of orthodoxy should have consented to put their signature to a document which breathed throughout the principles and spirit of Gallicanism, and this at the time when practically the whole French episcopate were united in condemning it. How unworthy they would have shown themselves of the magnificent eulogy just pronounced upon them by that great Pontiff, Clement XIII!

It is surely a source of deep comfort to the Society of Jesus that, when her enemies were multiplied, and when they hesitated not to use every manner of weapon to compass her ruin, resorting by turns to ridicule, and cunning, and deceit, and slander, and threats, and open violence, there sat in the chair of Peter a man whom they could not intimidate, and who dared throw into the scales in favor of those who were so cruelly and so unjustly persecuted, the whole weight of his apostolic authority.

The Bull, "*Apostolicum*", which he issued is a splendid tribute to the Society, and a fearless vindication of her sons against the calumnies and injustice of their assailants. And it is a still further consolation to them to know that the whole Catholic Hierarchy was devoted to the Society, so that when the design of its enemies to destroy it became known, appeals poured in from bishops all over the world, who conjured the Pope to stand firm and not hearken to the voice of its traducers.

But the accession of Ganganelli to the throne of St. Peter sounded the death-knell of the Society. Its enemies grew more and more insistent in their demands for its suppression, and Clement XIV, who was far from being of the same heroic mould as his predecessor, had scarcely been Pope for more than six months when he gave to Charles III of Spain a written promise to accede to their wishes.

That was in 1769, and in 1773 the fatal Brief was issued. It was surely an inauspicious time at which to deprive the Church of a phalanx of valiant soldiers, when by the spread of irreligious and immoral literature her enemies were waging so ruinous a war upon her. But the fear of schism, and of the setting up of national churches in the Catholic countries of Europe, outweighed with Clement XIV all other considerations, and the Jesuits, though convicted of no crime, were vowed to extinction.

The Brief of suppression is first summarized by the

author, and then, in a distinct chapter, is quoted almost in full, after which another chapter is devoted to the details of its execution.

It is very far from the truth to say, as Böhmer-Monod (*Les Jésuites*) says that "nowhere in Europe or elsewhere was there any serious opposition to the Brief". The very governments that had called loudest for the suppression of the Society refused to allow it to be published. This was not, to be sure, through any sudden change of front with regard to the institute or its members, but because the Brief was not sufficiently explicit in condemning them, to justify the malicious hatred of their enemies.

Frederick the Great of Prussia also forbade the publication of the Brief in his domains, and hence the Society continued to exist there until the death of the monarch in 1786, and this with the connivance of Pius VI, successor to Clement XIV. Poland, too, held out for a long time against its acceptance, and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland likewise remonstrated against it.

But the most serious opposition was encountered in France, where the whole hierarchy and clergy positively refused to account the Brief. The illustrious Archbishop of Paris, Cristopher de Beaumont, in particular, who had been specially requested by the Pope to promulgate it, replied with apostolic liberty in a manner which left no doubt as to his firm determination never to be a party to the work of suppressing the Society, and never to stultify himself by condemning what, with deliberate judgment, and in common with the whole French hierarchy, he had previously so highly extolled.

He contrasts the Brief with the splendid constitution "Pascendi Munus", published in favor of the Society by Clement XIII, drawing attention especially to the lack of formality in the preparation of the former while he emphasizes the observance of all due solemnity in the pro-

mulgation of the latter, and he concludes that the Brief is nothing more than the expression of the personal and private judgment of the Pope.

It is the peremptory refusal of the Empress Catherine II of Russia, even when earnestly requested by the Jesuits themselves, to allow the Brief to be published in her dominions, that is responsible for the continuity of the new Society of Jesus with the old. For not only when the Society was restored throughout the world in 1814, did hundreds of those who belonged to it at the time of the suppression, hasten to renew their allegiance to it, but by this wonderful disposition of Divine Providence the Society never lost its identity. For the promulgation of the papal Brief was a necessary condition, failing which, according to Canon Law, its provisions must remain of no effect. Hence the Society of Jesus, thanks to the protection extended to it by its imperial patroness, continued to exist in "White Russia", and its canonical existence was expressly recognized ten years later by Pope Pius VI, not indeed through any written document, but *vivae vocis oraculo*.

Catherine maintained her policy of protecting the Society to the end of her long reign, and her son Paul I, who succeeded her, was also most favorably disposed. In fact Father Gruber, who was soon to be elected General of the Society, was on terms of the closest intimacy with him. Alexander too, who followed Paul, upon the latter's assassination, was at first most friendly, though some twenty years later he drove the Society out of Russia.

The story of the restoration of the Society by the Bull of Pope Pius VII, on August 7, 1814, and of the gradual preparation for it by the events of this and the preceding pontificates is a most interesting one, as is also that of the attempt to wreck the Society at the first General Congregation held since the restoration: A conspiracy had been formed by certain malcontents, who had the support of Cardinal della

Genga, afterward Leo XII, as well as of the Vicar General of the Society, Father Petrucci, and of the Roman Provincial, Pietrobona, the immediate purpose being to delay the election of a General. The design, however, was frustrated through the prudence and courage of the distinguished Father Rozaven, and the timely and powerful aid of Cardinal Consalvi. The Congregation was held and Father Aloysius Fortis was chosen General of the Society.

The century which followed was truly a century of disaster for the Jesuits, not only all over Europe but in the states of Latin America as well. It was one series of constant alternations of popular favor and government persecutions. Scarcely had they been admitted to this or that country, when laws were enacted for their expulsion, and even while they were tolerated for a period, they were often hampered in their labors by odious restrictions, and were made the object of the most violent assaults from the tribune and in the press. Of the war that had been waged almost uninterruptedly against the Society in France since the restoration, Father Campbell gives a particularly full and graphic narration.

One of the last chapters in the book is devoted to a review of the missionary work of the restored Society, which, if less brilliant, or less spectacular than that of the Jesuits of earlier days, has scarcely been less fruitful in the harvest of souls. In recent years, no less than of yore, vast numbers have been begotten to the Church from heathendom in all parts of the world through the zealous labors of Jesuit missionaries. What is however of unusual interest in this account of the missions is the striking story of the survival of the faith among the native Christians in many of the lands evangelized by the members of the old Society, and the permanent change effected in their dispositions and manners by those who had instructed them in the Gospel morality.

There is also a very good account of the return of the Jesuits to China, and a most interesting description of the wonderful work accomplished in Hindustan in spite of most discouraging conditions to be met with among the native population almost everywhere.

The chapters on "Colleges" and "Literature" are full of valuable information on all points connected with the literary activity of the Society, with special reference to modern times. It is amazing to see how many names of distinguished Jesuits appear in the very forefront of scientific research in every department. In linguistic studies, in archaeology, in astronomy, in mathematics, in meteorology, in seismology, in ethnology, they have been unsurpassed.

An idea may be gained of the extent to which the Society has contributed to the world's literary output from the fact that the catalogue of Father Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., entitled, "Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus", comprises nine closely printed folio volumes, besides the index, and includes the names of 120,000 writers.

Space will not permit our going into details about the great work of the *Jesuit Relations*, which has been brought out in our day in seventy-two volumes by a Cleveland non-Catholic firm, under the editorship of Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites. This learned gentleman attributes their preservation to the scholarly modern Jesuit, Father Felix Martin, in his preface he asserts that the authors "were for the most part men of trained intellect, acute observers, and practised in the art of keeping records of their experiences" and he gives a vivid description of the trying circumstances under which the *Relations* were composed.

In the last chapter of *The Jesuits* but one, the writer pays a deserved tribute of filial reverence and affection to the great Pontiffs who have ruled the Church since the death of Clement XIV. He points out the numerous proofs of esteem lavished by them upon the Society at large, and

upon each successive General. The Society makes profession of whole-souled devotedness to the august person of the Vicar of Christ, and it is most gratifying to observe how this attachment has been invariably appreciated.

Father Campbell's best friends would not claim that his work is faultless. There are certain obscurities here and there; there are some inaccuracies; and there are indications of haste. These will probably disappear with the next edition of the book, and the distinguished author will be ever grateful to those of his readers or reviewers who in a kindly spirit have directed his attention to them.

Certainly, one need do no violence to the truth to say that Father Campbell has given to the public an exceptionally able work, and one which to serious readers can hardly fail to be highly interesting and even fascinating. There are indeed passages that read more like romance than sober fact, but even quite apart from such episodes, which after all are comparatively few, there are records on almost every page of heroic endeavor in the interests of Christ and of His Church, in the face of tremendous obstacles, sometimes successfully vanquished, at others found to be insuperable. and these, as a rule, are presented to the reader in a style that is full of verve, so that he is carried along, not only without weariness, but with positive relish, from year to year, and from land to land, until the history of the Society of Jesus lies all unfolded before him like a vast panorama, and he is filled, if not with enthusiastic admiration for it, at least with an exalted idea of its excellence, and a conviction that the finger of God is unmistakably present in an Institute which has accomplished in all parts of the world such truly wonderful results for the glory of God, and has uniformly drawn upon itself the fierce hatred and bitter assaults of the enemies of the Church in every land.

MRS. CAROLINE EARLE WHITE, REFORMER

A few years ago death called away Mrs. Caroline Earle White, one of the most justly famous women of the country, noted for her life-long unceasing efforts in behalf of suffering and ill-treated animals, the horse, the cow, the dog, the cat, the bird as well as other members of the brute creation, all being objects of her well directed and humane efforts in their behalf, for through her whole beautiful and active existence of nearly eighty-three years this noble Catholic woman was the devoted friend of the animal kingdom.

Mrs. Caroline Earle White was born in Philadelphia on September 28th 1833 and came of a family noted in the history of New England, for she was a descendant of the Ralph Earle who, with nineteen other public-spirited men, successfully petitioned Charles I, of England, in 1638 to form themselves into a body politic in Rhode Island.

Her father was Thomas Earle, a native of Leicester, Massachusetts, who at the age of twenty-one years came to Philadelphia, studied law and became a distinguished and able member of the Philadelphia bar. He also turned his attention to journalism and successfully edited those old time periodicals the "Columbian Observer", "Standard", "Pennsylvania" and "Mechanics Free Press and Reform Advocate". Mr. Earle took an active and prominent part in public affairs. In 1837 he was a noted member of the Constitutional Convention, which he had been largely instrumental in calling into being, and it was to him that Pennsylvania owed the original draft of the new Constitution.

When in 1840 the Liberty Party entered the Presidential

race, Thomas Earle was the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, James G. Birney heading the ticket. The Liberty Party was strictly anti-slavery. During the last years of his life Mr. Earle was engaged principally in literary work, publishing a number of important treatises on public subjects. He also began the translation of Sismondi's "Italian Republics" into English, but before it was finished he died, his death taking place in 1849.

On her mother's side Mrs. White was descended from one of the early settlers of Nantucket, and the mother was a cousin of Lucretia Mott, the earnest and eloquent speaker and worker against negro slavery.

From her childhood the young girl was brought up in an atmosphere of reform. Naturally with such an environment she became a champion of the slave, attended anti-slavery conventions and even when a small girl gave up her Christmas money to aid the anti-slavery cause. She was especially interested in the writings of Mary Grew, Secretary of The Female Anti-Slavery Society, who became in after years the leader of the Woman Suffrage movement in Pennsylvania.

When Mrs. White was but a young girl of seventeen, she met Richard P. White, a talented and attractive young Irishman who had settled in Philadelphia. He was a member of a prominent and devout Catholic family of Londonderry, and had many brothers and sisters, of whom seven entered the religious life. A sister, Madam Julia White, entered a Convent of the Sacred Heart and is still living in Armagh, Ireland. A brother became Abbot of the Trappist Monastery of Sermeneto; another brother became sheriff of Londonderry, the first Catholic to hold that office since the time of Queen Elizabeth.

The acquaintance culminated in their marriage which took place on September 28th 1854, proving a singularly happy and beautiful union, for in her husband, Mrs.

White found a sympathetic and helpful partner, one upon whose strength and sound judgment and exact and extensive knowledge she could always rely, and who was an inspiration to her all through their beautiful life together, a life which lasted for over fifty years.

It was not until some two years after her marriage that Mrs. White became a convert to Catholicity, and the account of the causes that led to her conversion can best be told in her own words :

THE STORY OF MY CONVERSION

I was born a birth-right member of the Society of Friends or Quakers as they are sometimes called. My Father and Mother were both Hicksite Friends, that is at the time of the separation between the Orthodox branch and the Hicksites who were Unitarians, my parents chose to belong to the latter party, consequently I was brought up a Unitarian. My father was a very liberal man and did not insist upon his children going to Friends' meeting if they did not like it, provided that we always went somewhere for the worship of God on Sundays.

Being children we liked to go to the Catholic Church where we saw lights and flowers and little boys in surplices carrying candles and heard music, but of the doctrines preached there we knew nothing. I never had any prejudice against the Catholic religion, my Father as I said before being very liberal and so far from speaking against the Church, I remember hearing him on several occasions praise what he considered its democratic form of government in making no distinction of color or condition, but welcoming all alike, and all communicants kneeling side by side at the altar when partaking of the Holy Sacrament.

There were two men I was particularly taught to revere, one was Thomas Jefferson, and the other Daniel O'Connell. I have seen my Father much moved when speaking of the

latter who at that time had succeeded in his struggles to obtain Catholic Emancipation. So it is evident that I was brought up without any prejudice against Catholicism farther than that which I acquired from my friends who were all Protestants, and from the books and newspapers of the period, nearly all of which united in speaking of that religion as one full of superstition and that was only held by ignorant and unenlightened persons. I naturally acquired the views of those around me, and looked upon the Reformation, so called, as one of the greatest events in history and upon Martin Luther as a blessing to mankind.

At seventeen years of age I met the gentleman who afterwards became my husband. He was from Ireland and from a most devout Catholic family, there having, partly before and partly since that time, seven of his brothers and sisters gone into religious orders. About two years afterwards we were engaged to be married. When his Mother heard of our engagement, she sent several Catholic works with a request that I should read them. I did try to read one or two, but they made no impression on me, my mind, I suppose, not being in a fit state to receive them. The day I was twenty-one we were married, but it made no difference in my habit of observing religion. I continued to go to the Unitarian Church as I had done before my marriage.

Only a few months afterward my husband, being very much out of health, and threatened, as it was thought, with consumption, the doctors advised a journey across the ocean in a sailing vessel, and we decided to go to Ireland to visit my husband's family in Londonderry. We arrived safely and received a genuine Irish welcome. My husband had several brothers and sisters near my own age and we had a happy merry party, always harmonious except on the subject of religion.

My father-in-law Mr. White took a house for a month at Moville near the spot where the river Foyle empties into

the loch of the same name. My mother-in-law had a friend whose nephew, a young man by the name of O'Brien had left the Jesuit College where he was preparing to enter the Order, for a vacation on account of his delicate health and had come to visit his aunt at her home near Londonderry. It was proposed that Mr. O'Brien be invited to stay with us while we were at the shore and the proposition was joyfully agreed to by my brothers and sisters-in-law. He came and I discovered him to be most intelligent, entertaining and agreeable in every way. Our games and amusements were redoubled after his arrival, but still in the midst of all the gaiety, Mr. O'Brien always conveyed an impression, without making any display, of moral goodness and religious devotion.

One day we all made an excursion to Carrickarede Bridge and Dunluce Castle in the north-eastern part of Ireland, and not far from Belfast. The bridge which connected the mainland with a rocky island was made only of ropes with two narrow boards fastened in the middle on which to step. A single rope was stretched across, a little above the bridge to serve as a hand-railing; but it was almost worse than nothing at all for it seemed to throw the frail bridge out into the air away from the person taking hold of it and cause it to shake and vibrate, while underneath the sea foamed and dashed through a rocky chasm. The bridge was used by the peasants who were in the habit of carrying sheep across on their shoulders to be put at pasture on the rocky island, but to any one unaccustomed to the perilous journey the idea of crossing was terrible. We all declared that we could not attempt it, when I turned to Mr. O'Brien and asked him if anything would induce him to cross? He replied, that if there was anyone in danger of death on the other side, who had never been baptized, he should not hesitate but would take the risk at once. So it was evident the idea of his duty to God was ever present in his mind.

He and I soon began to have religious discussions. It was hardly to be expected that I should be in the company of one whose opinions were so different from my own without speaking on the subject, and our debates were a matter of almost every-day occurrence. After leaving Moville we decided to travel over the County of Donegal, in the north-west of Ireland where there is much wild and beautiful scenery. There were at that time no railroads in the County and the only way we could travel was by jaunting cars where the riders sit back to back and usually two on a side. When making our arrangements for starting in the morning my husband generally contrived that Mr. O'Brien, who was with us still, and I should sit on the same side because he knew that whatever was the subject of conversation in the beginning it would be sure to drift into a controversy on religion in the end. We had many a heated discussion walking over the moors of County Donegal, for we were somewhat tired of driving and liked to walk.

At last our trip came to an end and my husband and I returned to Philadelphia. I was by no means converted to Catholicism, but I was interested—which was more than I had ever been before. I felt a desire to examine into the subject and try and find out for myself the truth, or at least what seemed to me to be the truth. During all this time my husband and I never spoke upon the subject. From the time we were married he never made the slightest effort to convert me or even to modify my views. I was left entirely to myself and I began to examine and to study the New Testament merely with a view to find out whether it taught that Christ was God or only a man as is held by the Unitarians. After some time I became convinced that the New Testament sustained many more passages favoring the doctrine of the Deity of Christ than the contrary, but though I was shaken in my Unitarian views, I was by no means a Catholic.

About this time, something, I cannot remember what, led me to read Milner's "End of Controversy" and that made a great change in me. I then recognized the fact, as Bishop Milner clearly shows, that the Bible, though so stupendous a work and so valuable to us, is not a sufficient rule of faith and practice. As people hold such conflicting views as to what the Bible really taught, it is necessary to have some authority to decide all vexed questions. I perceived that two men, equally learned, intelligent and devout could take the Bible and with regard to certain debated points come to entirely opposite conclusions. As for instance, in the very matter of the Deity of Christ, one would say that the Bible taught the Unitarian view, the other that it clearly sanctions the Orthodox belief that Christ was God, and one of these men must be in the wrong. It could not be possible that both were right. I saw that the same reading could be applied to baptism and I recognized that the Bible alone was not a sufficient guide, that there must be some authority to interpret its contents and declare what it really taught, as in all countries where people are governed by a code of laws, it is necessary to have Judges to interpret those laws and to decide their meaning. It seemed to me that Almighty God would never allow His children in so important a matter as religion to wander in the dark without a clear explanation of His doctrine and the laws by which He intended that we should govern our conduct. There must be some authority to settle the matter, but what was the authority? It did not seem to me that it could be in the Episcopal Church, much as I admired its service, because I knew that in that Church were many who held most conflicting views, some being actually Unitarians though united to an orthodox organization. In a true Church there must be unity of belief. It could not be among the Presbyterians or Methodists or any of the other sects, as they did not even claim to have a visible authoritative Church

organization, defining the doctrines of Christianity and giving light to all nations of the world.

I began to think that the Roman Catholic Church came nearest to furnishing what I demanded as attributes of the true Church, viz. authority, unity, universality and holiness, but some of its doctrines I still had great difficulty in believing. I could accept without any trouble the honor paid to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and the Supremacy of the Pope after examining the New Testament and noticing how on every occasion St. Peter was selected by our Lord as recipient of authority and as spokesman in affairs of importance. I could believe in the atonement of our Lord, a doctrine I had formally rejected, after seeing how wonderfully the ancient prophecies, which spoke of Him as being "bruised for our iniquities and wounded for our sins" were fulfilled, but the real presence of Christ in the consecrated Host, was the most foreign to all my preconceived ideas and the most of a stumbling in my way. My constant prayer to Almighty God for light and for the guidance of the Holy Spirit overcame however that difficulty, and when I was twenty-three, nearly two years after I first began to consider the subject seriously, I was baptized and entered the Roman Catholic Church where I have found happiness, rest and peace.

CAROLINE EARLE WHITE

Mrs. White became a devout Catholic, attending strictly to all her religious duties and, as years rolled on, becoming affiliated with a number of spiritual and charitable Catholic organizations. She became a Child of Mary at the Convent of the Sacred Heart on Arch St., Philadelphia. a Christian Mother, President of St. Vincent's Aid Society, the Society whose object is "to preserve the life of destitute infants by providing suitable nurses for them, and also suitable clothing and other necessities"; and Chairman for a number of years of the "Ladies Auxiliary of the

American Catholic Historical Society." She attended St. Patrick's Church, and all her life was a frequent and devout communicant. His Grace the late Archbishop Ryan was a warm personal friend.

Almost from her babyhood, it may be said, Mrs. White was interested in animals, concerned about their welfare and roused to indignation when she saw them ill-treated. Thus her heart was harrowed at the suffering of the mules that in early days were used to drag the freight trains out Market street, driven by careless or brutal drivers. "Poor beasts that were lashed for being stupid, because their masters were even more stupid."

It was to Mr. White that the young girl was indebted for her first affiliation with any organized society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. He was so impressed by her intense interest in their humane treatment that he told her she ought to become a member of the "English Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals." She was delighted at the suggestion, for she had not known before that such a society was in existence and she exclaimed "How glad I am to hear of such a Society. I have always wanted something of the kind and I will never rest until I have such a Society here!" Thus, even while still a quite young girl the germ of the idea of what her life work was to be, was in her mind.

It was not however until after the Civil War with all its responsibilities that she, then a happily married woman, was enabled to carry out the plan upon which she had set her heart. It was during a summer spent in the Adirondacks, that she heard of the fine work being accomplished in New York by Henry Bergh in the care of overworked and abused animals, and fired with the hope of establishing similar work in her own city of Philadelphia she stopped on her way home in New York to consult Mr. Bergh as to the necessary steps to be taken for organizing a Society for the Preven-

tion of Cruelty to Animals on the lines of the one in New York.

Mr. Bergh was interested and helpful, gave her much practical advice and information and she came home ardent and determined and took steps immediately for the formation of the desired Society.

The first step Mrs. White took was to have papers printed which announced: "We the undersigned citizens of Philadelphia cordially approve of the formation and incorporation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and promise to support it by every means in our power."

The next step was to obtain signatures and this Mrs. White did, visiting lawyers, and merchants, physicians and clergymen and other prominent men, endeavoring to interest them in the formation of such a Society. Many of them signed, among them a number of Philadelphia Judges, and naturally their signatures carried weight.

Mr. Richards Muckle, the treasurer of the "Public Ledger," was an efficient aid in the enterprise, and S. Morris Waln, a prominent and highly respected citizen of Philadelphia, was an especially valuable recruit and showed his interest by contributing six thousand dollars to assist in the foundation of the Society. Having obtained a sufficient number of signatures for her purpose, Mrs. White called a meeting of all those who had signed, at the Board of Trade Rooms in Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was organized, Mr. Wilson Swain being elected President. This was in 1867 and in the following year the Society was incorporated.

This was a remarkable achievement for a woman, for at that time women took little part in any such public organizations, and even Mrs. White herself, despite the fact that she was responsible for the founding of the Society, did not expect to take an active part in administering its affairs. It was not very long however until it was recognized that

the aid of women was an almost imperative necessity, and Mr. Waln, who had succeeded to the Presidency, asked Mrs. White to found a Woman's Branch. Mrs. White had the cause too much at heart to refuse, and on April 14th 1869, about thirty ladies met in the parlor of Mr. Waln's residence and organized a Woman's Branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Naturally Mrs. White was elected President, and continued to serve in that capacity until her death forty-five years afterwards. In 1870 the Society was incorporated, Mrs. White herself going to Harrisburg to obtain the necessary charter.

The legal title of the organization is "The Women's Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals." It is in reality an independent Society and bequests must be made to it under its legal name. The objects of the Society were set forth in the charter in these explicit terms, "To provide effective means for the prevention of cruelty throughout the State of Pennsylvania, and for the enforcement of laws heretofore or hereafter enacted for the protection of dumb animals; to erect and maintain fountains, tanks etc., for dumb creatures and to distribute tracts."

Almost as soon as the Society was organized it began active work and the first ill-treated animals to which its humane efforts were directed was the stray dog, captured by the city "dog catchers", and often subject to cruel indeed barbarous ill-usage, and killed, if unclaimed and homeless, in a shockingly brutal manner. Mrs. White applied to the then Mayor Hon. Daniel M. Fox who readily promised to have the dogs disposed of by a more merciful method, and consequently carbonic acid gas was used. This was a step forward, but not enough to satisfy Mrs. White's requirements, and she exerted herself further to obtain permission from City Councils, for the Society assuming complete control of the capture of stray dogs and of the dog-

pound. This was finally granted, though not without heated discussion and much bitter opposition. The money appropriated by Councils for the Pound was accordingly given to the Society, which has successfully managed the question of the homeless or stray dog and its disposal in a merciful and efficient manner since 1870.

Naturally the horse when abused or overworked came under the ministration of the Society under Mrs. White's guiding hand, and strenuous efforts were made to have a law enacted limiting the number of passengers in the street cars, then drawn by horses, to thirty, thus relieving the strain on the over-worked horses that were often obliged to drag seventy or eighty, sometimes even more persons, perhaps on a day when the thermometer registered above ninety degrees, or on a winter day when ice-covered streets were scarcely passable, but these efforts were unsuccessful, and it was only the adoption of the modern electric system that relieved the car horse from its misery.

The sufferings of cattle when being transported from the West in overcrowded, badly ventilated cars, often without water, next engaged the attention of Mrs. White, but only after persistent effort, a journey to Washington being necessary so that she could personally impress on the Western and Southern Senators the importance of passing a law for the protection of such cattle, was a law such as she desired, passed on March 3rd 1873, after two years of agitation concerning it.

But though Congress passed the law, it was not enforced, and it took repeated, persistent and determined effort on the part of Mrs. White and the Society to force the Rail Road Companies to comply with the provisions. The Pennsylvania Rail Road Company was even threatened with a suit at law, but to avert this, the officials of the Company after consultation with Mrs. White promised to procure patent cars as soon as possible; so the suit was not pressed.

The agitation concerning the proper and humane transportation of cattle continued for a number of years. On one occasion the Reading Railway Company was sued by the Society for a gross violation of the law, the suit being decided in favor of the Society. But infractions still continued, cattle were crowded into cars and kept sometimes for one, two and even three days without either food or water, and the Society was almost constantly employed in seeing that offenders were brought to justice, or the abuses remedied.

A most important work undertaken by the Society under Mrs. White's leadership was the humane education of children. She knew well that it is not possible to begin too early to inculcate lessons of kindness, mercy and consideration for the helpless brute creation, in the heart, and mind and conscience of the child.

She believed firmly that children should be taught from infancy the duty of being kind to all living things, as it is almost an impossibility to protect animals from the cruelty, caprice and thoughtlessness of men and women, unless these men and women learn in their earliest youth that the bird, the cat, the dog, or the beast of burden is as truly entitled to kindness and consideration as any other creature of God.

This was a hard lesson to inculcate however, when it seemed every inducement was offered to children to teach them the contrary, when toys were sold warranted to kill the little bird that sat chirping merrily on the tree-top, and when race tracks were crowded with interested spectators, delighted at the sight of a few struggling excited animals goaded to strain every nerve to win a race, which served no purpose whatever, but that of brutalizing and demoralizing the human beings who took part.

In an article on Humane Education which Mrs. White wrote for "Woman's Progress" she expressed herself in the following forcible terms: "The idea of humane educa-

tion is to teach children in the first place that animals have certain rights, and that in view of all the services they render to us, and the vast amount of comfort and happiness they add to our lives, they are entitled to good treatment and to protection at our hands. This we consider an absolute duty, and think that every human being who profits by these services rendered to us by animals should assist in the work of protecting them. Children are taught also that everything which exists, even the smallest insect, as long as it is not needed for the necessities of man and does not interfere with his safety or comfort or convenience, has a right to live and that it is wrong to kill it; that they must step aside to avoid crushing even the harmless beetle in the roads. This creates in their minds a respect and regard for life *per se* and there is little danger that a child brought up in this manner will ever become a murderer."

Permission was obtained by this energetic and single-minded woman to have humane education introduced into the public and parochial schools, and in an incredibly short space of time "Bands of Mercy" were formed in a number of the Schools, the cardinal obligation of a member being "kindness to animals". Not only in public and private schools were these "Bands of Mercy" established but also in the House of Refuge and Girard College. Mrs. White's faithful ally in this work, in which she became the guiding star, was Mrs. Charles Willing of Philadelphia. From these Bands of Mercy in the public schools under the direction of Mrs. Willing, sprang the Young American Humane Society, in the formation of which, Mrs. White of course ably co-operated.

As was to be expected early in the course of her work, Mrs. White took up the subject of vivisection, to which she was consistently and unalterably opposed. She was, to use her own words, fully "sensible of the frightful cruelty and

barbarous experiment perpetrated in the name of science and under the specious plea of doing good to human beings, upon helpless animals by vivi-sectionists", and feeling thus strongly on the question she was one of the prime movers in the formation of the American Anti-vivisection Society. This, the first Anti-vivisection Society in the United States, was organized in Philadelphia on February 23rd, 1883, and it was incorporated in the same year. At its inception the Society aimed only at the restriction of vivisection, but soon becoming convinced that it was not possible to confine the practice within proper limits, it enlarged its scope, widened its view point and came out boldly and unflinchingly in favor of the total suppression of the evil, and it based its demand for its complete abolition on the highest possible grounds, the command of God in His moral law. The conflict between the new Society and the advocates of vivisection raged with more or less violence for a number of years, many noted men being ranged on both sides. A number of eminent Clergymen of all denominations were on the side of the anti-vivisectionists, many of them well known Catholic Prelates and Priests. Mrs. White was a Vice-President of the Society, later acting as Corresponding Secretary.

Another special reform in which Mrs. White was deeply interested was the welfare of children, and she was one of the first organizers of the Philadelphia Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. John Wright, a member of the Society of Friends, was the first person in the United States to found any organization looking to the welfare of poor helpless children. He had heard, as who had not, of the successful organizations and operation of the Society founded and carried on by Mrs. White, which had the interest of dumb animals at heart, and he came to Philadelphia for the express purpose of appealing to her to take up the cause of ill-treated children.

Mrs. White's kind heart and sympathetic nature responded at once to the appeal and she promised her co-operation. With her usual promptitude she called a meeting, Mrs. Turner of Darby being an able coadjutor. The meeting was largely attended and resulted in the formation of the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, Mrs. White being a member of the Executive Board. When the Society was established however on a sound working basis, she resigned the position, saying her place could readily be filled, as the welfare of children met with a responsive chord in the hearts of great numbers of people, and she felt she was needed more in the less popular organization, whose work was the cause of the suffering ill-treated lower animals. Before she retired however, Mrs. White made sure that the policy of men and women being on the same plane on the Board, with an equal voice in the direction of the affairs of the new Society, was firmly established.

Mrs. White was a vigorous and trenchant writer and her annual reports were important features of her work. In one of them in which she described the horrible cruelty practiced on a mare by two drunken men she wrote apropos of liquor, "By it, men are changed into demons, and losing all self-control and consciousness of what they are doing, beat and maim and kill anything that comes in contact with them."

Mrs. White was a frequent visitor to Europe. In 1880 she attended the Congress of "Societies to Protect Animals," held in Brussels, and "explained to some of the delegates the method employed by her Society in conducting the Dog Shelter and Pound in Philadelphia. This aroused much interest and a desire was officially expressed that an account of the work should be prepared and sent to every kindred Society in the world, recommending the same course whenever practicable. Mrs. White wrote the article while in

Brussels, and it was afterwards translated into both French and German."

This Dog Shelter, now the Morris Refuge Association for Homeless and Suffering Animals, was established in 1874, Miss Elizabeth Morris being the first chairman. Its object is the "care of homeless animals by finding homes for them in families, and when this is not possible by founding boarding homes, hospitals or refuges for their accommodation, and when there is no other way of providing for them by giving them a quick and painless death."

This City Refuge for Lost and Suffering Animals is the first institution of the kind in the whole world.

In Mrs. White's journeys in foreign countries she was accustomed to visit many societies, always on the alert for new ideas or newer or better methods of furthering her chosen work.

Another form of cruelty which Mrs. White was anxious to abolish was the wanton and wholesale destruction of birds, and in her report for the year 1886 she wrote concerning it, "The subject of the slaughter of birds for the decoration of the hats and bonnets of the women of our country has engaged our sorrowful attention, and we have not hesitated publicly and privately to utter our protest against this barbarity, which might only be expected from savages and which is a disgrace to any civilized nation." At about this period Audubon Societies for the protection of birds were coming into existence.

Mrs. White also made an effort to have pigeon-shooting matches abolished on account of their extreme cruelty. The cruel crowding of fowls brought from the West in coops so small that the poor birds suffered intensely also engaged the attention of Mrs. White and her co-laborers and efforts made to alleviate the evil met with a measure of success.

The barbarous treatment of the mules employed in mines

also came under investigation by the Society and attempts were made for alleviation. Also the cruelty of the unmanly and silly so-called sport of fox-hunting, tame or bagged foxes being used, the poor beasts sometimes so scared that they tried to crawl back into the bag.

Indeed there was little that escaped the vigilant eye of Mrs. White or of the other active members of the Society, not only in Pennsylvania, but in New Jersey and other States as well.

Through all her varied and incessant labors in behalf of helpless and forlorn dumb beasts, there was need of much journeying about the country, a seemingly never ending succession of interviews with city, state or national legislators, in behalf of them, and a constant effort to have these animals legally protected and punishment inflicted on those guilty of abusing them. Alongside of her careful supervision of the multitudinous details of the Society of which she was the beacon light and the inspiration and the preparation of her model and illuminating annual reports, this indefatigable leader found time for a considerable amount of literary work.

She wrote innumerable articles for the cause to which she had devoted her life, and in such articles she wielded a ready and trenchant pen, and her earnestness and logical arguments, her appeal to the nobler feelings, her reliance on the principles of religion, her fearless and Catholic spirit seldom failed to carry conviction to her readers.

She was the founder and editor of the *Journal of Zoophily*, the periodical published in the interest of the animal creation, the motto of which is "He who is not actively kind is cruel."

Her literary activities had an extensive range, for she wrote a number of novels and short stories. Her first published story was called "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady" which appeared in *Harper's Magazine*. Among her novels

may be mentioned "An Ocean Mystery", "Love in the Tropics", "The Modern Agrippa" and "Patience Barker", the latter a tale of quaint old Nantucket with a flavor of sea captains, whale fisheries, old wharves and sand dunes.

Mrs. White was an accomplished linguist, being a Latin scholar and able to converse fluently not only in her native tongue but in French, Italian and German, and she was also fairly conversant with Spanish.

On the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage Mr. and Mrs. White held a beautiful reception to which their almost countless numbers of friends hastened to congratulate them. It was an exceedingly joyous occasion and no one could fail to be impressed with the nobility of accomplishment evidenced by the host and hostess. The reception took place in September 1904, but before another year had come Mrs. White was called upon to mourn the loss of her devoted and beloved partner, for Mr. White died on the twenty-third day of the following May in 1905.

The death of such an eminent attorney at law as Mr. White left a great gap in the legal profession of Philadelphia. For years he had stood in the very foremost rank of noted lawyers and for a quarter of a century there was scarcely an important case argued in the law courts that Mr. White was not engaged as counsel for it, and as a general thing he was almost always successful, for his knowledge of law was profound and far-reaching and there were few if any legal difficulties that he could not surmount. In fine he may justly be called a great lawyer.

He was a keen yachtsman, being a member of the famous Corinthian Yacht Club, and was noted for his unvarying kindness and helpfulness to amateurs. He was a generous and faithful friend, a genial host, and an advocate of all worth-while reforms. The papers of the time in the many obituary notices of his death, spoke of him in terms of the highest praise, emphasizing in especial his uncommon grasp

of the intricacies and meaning of the law, and his worth as a cultured, high-minded Christian gentleman.

Great as such a loss was to his sorrowing wife, Mrs. White in due time continued her activities, as she was not of the temperament to sit with folded hands when there were so many wrongs to redress, so much work to do, so many evils crying for remedy. Her good work went on, some of the early laborers were taken by death, but others came to fill the places they left vacant, for Mrs. White had the happy faculty of inspiring all her co-workers with something of her own indomitable spirit, for to them all she was guide, counsellor and friend, and on their part they were loyal and devoted in carrying out the policies she outlined.

For some eleven years after the death of her husband Mrs. White's activities never ceased, when summer came she usually went to the island home of her maternal ancestors, Nantucket, where she had a beautiful and commodious house in which she dispensed a gracious hospitality. As always she was exceedingly punctilious in attending to all her religious duties. Every first Friday she received Holy Communion and was most faithful in observing all the rules and regulations of Lent. Through her efforts and those of another devout woman, a Mrs. Lawrence, a resident priest for Nantucket was secured, the Bishop having been petitioned for that favor. Previous to this the Nantucket Church was served by a Father from the mainland.

In 1915 at a Conference of the American Anti-Vivisection Society, Mrs. White was presented with a gavel made from the wood of a tree growing in Independence Square, a tree which had waved over Independence Hall itself. The presentation was made by Rev. C. Ernest Smith D. D., D. C. L., Rector of St. Thomas' Church, Washington.

In May 1916 Mrs. White participated in the exercises attendant upon the planting of the first memorial tree in

Washington Square in commemoration of "Humane Work" and she thanked Mrs. Halvey whose suggestion it was to plant the tree, for the pleasure it afforded her.

The next year a tree was planted in memory of Mrs. White herself in the yard of the Wharton School at Third and Catharine Streets.

Mrs. White's last illness came while she was sojourning in her summer home. She was taken ill after a day of unusual exertion, having received Holy Communion in the morning and later in the day having attended a re-union of the Maria Mitchell School, which school she had attended as a child. It was her last illness, for she died one month later on September 6th 1916. She was attended by the Rev. Joseph M. Griffin, of Nantucket, received all the rites which the Church offers for the consolation of the dying, and gave up her spirit with the full hope of a blessed immortality. Her remains were taken to the Church of St. Mary, Nantucket for her funeral Mass. In one short month after the death of his mother, her only son Thomas Earle White died on October 7th.

The death of Mrs. White made a great sensation, for she was known, loved, admired and respected wherever the fame of her noble and self-sacrificing life and works had extended, and there were few countries in which they were not known. Her loss made a gap in such organizations as the Browning Society, the Contemporary Club and other similar societies, to say nothing of the almost irreparable loss her death was to her own special Reform Society, which voiced its grief in these terms:

*In Memoriam**Caroline Earle White*

"Resolutions on the death of Mrs. Caroline Earle White passed by the Executive Committee of the Women's Penna. S. P. C. A. at a special meeting held September 8th 1916.

"Whereas, The passing from this life of Mrs. Caroline Earle White, the honored and beloved President of this Society, the pioneer of humane work in this State and its acknowledged champion and leader for nearly half a century, though it has deprived us of her earthly presence, cannot destroy the good that she did and which commanded the respect of all true humanitarians; therefore,

"Resolved, That we who had the honor to be her immediate associates hereby record our appreciation of her work; that we gratefully remember her patience, her courtesy, her unfailing gentleness, her all-embracing kindness. And we also record our earnest hope that the number of those upon whom her mantle shall fall may be greatly increased, and that we, her co-workers, stimulated by her example, and realizing the vast need of the fuller development of the spirit of universal kindness, may redouble our own efforts to promote its increase.

"Resolved, That this resolution be recorded in the minutes, that a copy of it be sent to the family of Mrs. White, and also that it be sent to the public press.

"Signed Charlotte W. Ritchie, Katharine Craig Biddle, Mary F. Lovell, Committee."

The Anti-Vivisection Society also passed most touching and appropriate resolutions as follows, "At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Anti-Vivisection Society the following resolutions were adopted, Whereas For the beloved and honored Founder and Corresponding

Secretary of this Society, Caroline Earle White, there has recently sounded the summons of the Master, which means for her His meed of recompense and rest eternal, therefore be it Resolved, That we, the Vice Presidents and Board of Managers of the American Anti-Vivisection Society seek to express hereby our deep sense of bereavement at her loss, and that we voice now, in so far as weak words may, our honor and admiration for her as a pioneer of the humane movement which she so brilliantly initiated and bravely defended in the far-off days, when such action by a woman, meant the endurance of opposition, ridicule and slander, all of which she whom we mourn today, combated and overcame by her personal courage, selflessness and purity of purpose, and be it further Resolved, That we recognize the great impetus she gave the cause of Anti-Vivisection by the power of her pen, ever at its disposal, and always used with truthfulness and moderation. And be it further Resolved, That since to her, as Founder of the American Anti-Vivisection Society, we owe the first organized effort in this country to abolish a hideous form of cruelty, that we keep alive as a beacon light for our own and future generations the memory of Caroline Earle White and that we seek to maintain and perpetuate the ideals for which she strove.

“Signed Robert R. Logan, Margaret M. Halvey, Elizabeth Somers, Committee.”

Letters of sympathy and condolence came in from near and far, all testifying to the profound respect and admiration with which Mrs. White's character and work had impressed the writers. In a beautiful tribute paid to her by Mrs. Mary F. Lovell, who is devoting her left to the noble work of humane education, and who was one of Mrs. White's most earnest friends and supporters, occurs this characteristic passage concerning Mrs. White, “With an inextinguishable desire for the righting of wrong and a

nice sense of justice, and with an immense capacity for pity and compassion, she united the broadest charity. She could suffer long and be kind, and her charity never failed. She was kind to all."

Another of her co-workers, Mrs. Margaret M. Halvey, wrote

"Let me but say of her now she is dead.
[With an Amen to all so ably said,]—
That knowing her best was best to know her worth.
That Truth and Kindness, strong to brighten earth,
Were hers by Nature's gifting—rare and royal—
My best I say in this: 'God made her Loyal.'"

Her niece, Mrs. Florence Earle Coates, the well known poetess, wrote this "She was a great woman with the heart of a little child. Her works praise her; the millions of God's creatures whom she has saved from suffering sing her praise. Where she has gone the recognition of this world counts for little. She has gone where the merciful are blessed, where the pure in heart see God."

Miss Elizabeth Somers, who was closely associated with Mrs. White in her work and whose mother was her life-long friend, writes these lines in praise, "Mrs. White had an amiable disposition. She was slow to anger and could preserve an imperturbable calmness, even when attacked fiercely and unjustly by vivisectionists. She also had a profound reverence for the truth and would not willingly deviate a hair's breadth from it, even if convinced that she could further the cause nearest her heart, anti-vivisection, by a slight exaggeration. She was a linguist and was wont to say it gave her more pleasure to study a language than to read the most interesting novel ever written." Miss Somers had also written concerning Mrs. White's scholarly attainments, "Astronomy was a science in which her interest never seemed to flag, and she usually had a text-book on hand. While at her Nantucket home, an evening seldom

passed, when if the atmosphere permitted, she did not observe the constellations. The variety and cultivation of her tastes were remarkable and opened many fields of recreation to her. A musician herself in early life, endowed by nature with a correct ear and having a thorough knowledge of music both as a science and an art, made her enjoyment of it complete. She was as constant in her friendships as she was faithful to the cause she espoused. Every reform that had for its object the good of humanity appealed to her. The large number of persons whom she aided when they applied to her in difficulties, financial or otherwise, will never be known."

Edward J. Nolan, Secretary of the Academy of Natural Sciences, paid this tribute to her memory: "She was endeared to her friends by her kindly sympathy, her wide culture and her fearless devotion to principle. She possessed indeed a combination of high qualities, courage, intelligence and devotion, singularly fitting her for the beneficent work to which she gave the best years of her life, as though she were conscious of a Divine call."

These are but a few sentences from the many tributes that were gathered together in the Memorial number of the *Journal of Zoophily* published in September, shortly after her death, but they evidence conclusively the rare character and commanding and winning personality of this exceptionally gifted woman. She has left the scene of her earthly labors, but her work remains as her best and lasting memorial.

The writer of this brief sketch of Mrs. White and her work is indebted for valuable information furnished by the great kindness of Mrs. Earle White, wife of Mrs. White's grandson, Miss Elizabeth Somers, Mrs. Margaret M. Halvey, Mrs. Mary F. Lovell, and other courteous and obliging personal friends.

JANE CAMPBELL.

REPORTS OF CONRAD ALEXANDRE GERARD, MINISTER
PLENIPOTENTIARY TO AMERICA, 1778-1779, FROM
HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY, LOUIS
XVI, KING OF FRANCE

(Continued)

Ill luck continued to attend upon His Majesty's Commission for restoring peace. It cannot be denied, however, that their conciliatory offers were hailed with joy by Tory proprietors whose property had been confiscated, while latent distrust for England's ancient enemy, together with dread of the latter's Roman Catholic influence, were fanned into flame in many a loyal breast by the prejudiced utterances of the Commissioners against America's new ally. On the other hand, every measure which they brought forward, every disparaging utterance which they permitted themselves, tended to unite the friends of liberty more firmly to the principles of independence and of the Alliance. Indeed it would be hard to conceive of any measure which could have been devised by the Government of Great Britain capable of giving such consistency and strength to the patriot cause as that of sending over such a commission.

Gérard, in his 17th. report, dated August 22, 1778, gives an account of the political situation at that moment. He says:

The deputies of Maryland and Pennsylvania tell me that a great number of citizens who had before refused to take the oath of the states, have presented themselves for admittance, since the character of my mission has been known. It has been the policy of the English to persuade their partisans that the fleet of the king had no other object than to protect the opera-

tions of our commerce destined to reimburse the king for the sums which His Majesty had advanced to the Americans. I neglect nothing, Mgr. to fortify the impression of the inestimable advantages which the declaration and the open assistance of France have procured the Americans, and every day adds to the conviction that the wisdom of His Majesty has chosen the most favorable moment, and perhaps the only moment when a coalition could have been prevented between England and America. Many members of Congress have avowed to me that the manifesto of the 26th of April, by which the conciliatory bills were rejected in advance, was on its part, a *coup de désespoir*, to offset the pernicious effects which it dreaded from the future and from the manœuvres of the commissioners.

The manifesto here alluded to, which was published six days before news of the French Alliance reached Congress, is so remarkable a document that it requires special mention. It was brought in as a report by a committee appointed by Congress to consider a paper sent to that body by George Washington, and which contained what "purported to be the draught of a bill . . . to enable the king of Great Britain to appoint commissioners with power to treat, consult and agree upon the means of quieting certain disorders within the said states."¹ The report says in part:

The wickedness and insincerity of the enemy appear from the following considerations:

1. Either the bills now to be passed contain a direct or indirect cession of a part of their former claims, or they do not. If they do, then it is acknowledged that they have sacrificed many brave men in an unjust quarrel. If they do not, then they are calculated to deceive America into terms to which neither argument before the war, nor force since, could procure assent. . . .

From the second bill it appears that the British king may, if he pleases, appoint commissioners to treat and agree with those whom they please, about a variety of things therein men-

¹ See *Jour. of Cong.*, Lib. of Cong. edition, Vol. X, p. 374.

tioned; but such treaties or agreements are to be of no validity, without the concurrence of the said parliament, except in so far as they relate to the suspension of hostilities, and of certain of their acts, the granting of pardons, and the appointing of governors to these sovereign, free and independent states. wherefore the said parliament have reserved to themselves, in express words, the power to set aside any such treaty, and taking advantage of any circumstances which may arise, to subject these colonies to their usurpations.

From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the said bills are intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common cause, now, by the blessing of Divine Providence, drawing near to a favorable issue. . . .

Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as Americans . . . any men, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, . . . ought to be considered as opponents, avowed enemies of these United States, unless Great Britain shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw her fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states.

Since the publication of this manifesto in April 1778, the disposition of Congress towards any conciliatory measures of Great Britain, had remained unchanged. The particular danger of the situation as Gérard saw it in August of the same year, lay, not so much in the likelihood that a few weakening members would cause Congress to recede from their position, as in the insidious measures of the Commissioners who sought to entrap them unawares. It required all the vigilance of the experienced and cautious French diplomat, to save them from these hidden snares.

As has been seen in the forgoing chapter, the intention of Congress was to ignore whatever was addressed to it

by the Commissioners. It was in pursuance of this policy that their communication of the 11th of July had been left unanswered. The sudden move on the part of the Commissioners in ratifying the Convention of Saratoga, threw them off their guard.

This unexpected presentation of a new topic occasioned long debate in Congress, where unity of action was difficult to attain. In the mean time, while the President was informing himself through conversations with the French Minister, regarding the principles involved, Congress, roused to indignation by what it termed "daring and atrocious attempts to corrupt its integrity", was hurried into an act, from the consequences of which, as will soon be shown, it had great difficulty in extricating itself.

The matter was as follows. George Johnstone, former Governor of West Florida, now member of the British Commission, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the leaders in Congress, by direct and indirect attempts at bribery. On the 11th of August, while still undecided what action to take regarding the ratification of the Convention of Saratoga, Congress drew up a "Declaration", couched in very strong language, in which was set forth the contents of the offending letters, with an account of the actions of the said Johnstone. To this Declaration was appended the following resolution: "*Resolved*, that it is incompatible with the honor of Congress to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said Governor Johnstone Esq., especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." The Declaration and the Resolution were signed by the President of Congress, and sent under a flag of truce to the British Commissioners, who received it in New York, August 18. Nothing could have better answered their purpose. They were quick to see that in singling out one of their number as wholly unacceptable, Congress had laid itself under a sort of obliga-

tion to admit the rest. For an account of what follows let us return to the reports of Gérard.

On September 1st. he writes in his 21st. report :

A new declaration on their part (that of the British Commissioners) arrived yesterday, accompanied by a letter of the Secretary, Dr. Ferguson, to the President of Congress. The same package contained a personal declaration of Mr. Johnstone, by which he shows joy over the exclusion which Congress makes regarding him, and their resolution not to treat with him. . . . The declaration of the other Commissioners, the Earl of Carlisle, General Clinton, and Wm. Eden, is also enclosed; this letter commences by an equivocal acceptance of the exclusion of Mr. Johnstone, and, under pretext of justifying that Commissioner, passes to details whose object is to persuade the Americans that they have been wrong to ally themselves with France, whose design is to betray them. This letter is so lacking in logic, sense and truth, that it would have been more difficult for me to analyse it than to dictate the translation, which you will find inclosed. I did it last night, the President of Congress having confided the originals to me the moment of their reception.

This chief had a very long interview with me regarding the contents of these documents their purpose and their consequence, as well as the manner in which Congress should reply. He gave me to understand that several members had stopped the resolutions of Congress, because they were of opinion that the ratification of the Convention of Saratoga by the Commissioners would be an indirect recognition of independence. I saw at once that here as elsewhere, those men who tax their ingenuity to invent political refinements, have ordinarily the talent to make themselves heard, and so to obstruct a simple and solid progress. It is unnecessary to give in detail our conversation. Let it suffice to say that as Mr. Laurens persists in his sentiments, and as a great number of delegates seem disposed to go even farther, he has asked me to aid him with my pen and directly with a few members. I agreed to do both on condition that my writings shall pass as his own if he adopts them, and be burned if he does not adopt them.

In drawing them up I put myself in the state of mind which should animate Congress. . . . I will not indicate here more than a few points which may help you to arrive at an opinion :

1st. The Commissioners have not the power to ratify, which power emanates from the Crown alone, and belongs to its prerogative.

2nd. Supposing that they should ratify, their commission and their bills testify that they lack the authority, and that their ratification would have to be ratified not only by the king but also by Parliament.

3rd. All ratification is, by its nature, reserved to the Crown.

4th. The ratification of a military convention bears no recognition of sovereignty. History furnishes a thousand proofs. . . .

5th. It is doubtless important to force England to surmount another repugnance, which belongs to her system of humiliating the United States and Congress : but it is from herself that this act must be obtained, and not from commissioners who have not the power to accord it.

6th. After the solemn declaration of Congress to the English Commissioners it would be to lower the dignity of the United States, to betray the rights of sovereignty and independence, if they were to treat upon other titles than those which the rights of man and the usage of sovereign states admit ; that to negotiate upon simple domestic letters-patent limited in their style and in their effects, would carry with it a shameful mark of subordination.

7th. The civil law of England declares that the king is not bound to hold to treaties made with rebels. The conduct of the Crown and of its officers, having constantly conformed to this maxim . . . the United States cannot count upon the public faith of England until she shall have recognized their independence in the face of the universe.

8th. England will never seriously think of recognizing the independence of the states while Congress shows itself willing to treat with domestic commissioners, whose powers and whose existence even, have no other foundation than conciliatory bills ; the United States would, with reason, always have the reputa-

tion of admitting such bills as acceptable objects of negotiation. It seems that so to act would be equivalent to turning ones back upon one's object, and to creating the greatest obstacles which one's dearest interests could experience. The commission has no longer either powers or instructions, that is to say, it no longer exists, from the moment that the United States declares that it will not treat with it except upon the basis of Independence.

These, Mgr., are the principal considerations which will be presented to Congress, and which it seems, should determine its resolutions upon this point, and lead it to rectify the error into which it was drawn by its resentment against Mr. Johnstone. It did not perceive that in declaring it would not treat with that commissioner, it tacitly engaged itself to treat with the others. It feels its fault, and one must believe, it wishes to repair it.

As to the insinuations, equally false as crafty, made against France, if they were not so affected and so solemn, they would be beneath notice; but in a government like this, every possible avenue must be closed to the entrance of pernicious prejudices among the people. It is therefore agreed to employ writers to reply. I shall try to suggest the manner, because I have not yet found the way to get a sight of the articles before they are printed.

The package from the British Commissioners contained also a letter from a Mr. Temple, who announces he has permission from the English Generals to come to Philadelphia and present his respects to Congress. This man was employed formerly in the American customs but was driven out. He is clever and without principle, and worthy to be used in underhanded designs. I have pointed out to Congress that he can only be a secret emissary, substituted for the practices of Mr. Johnstone, or a species of dependent which they wish to attach as spy to my steps; that if he were attached to any commission, even secret, the rule in times of war requires that he announce it before setting foot upon the territory of the United States.

I am so affected, Mgr., with the importance of all that tends to entertain a thread of liason or correspondence with Great

Britain, that I have no doubt you will judge these details important. I shall not be tranquil until Congress shall have resolved not to admit any agents on the part of Great Britain, who do not come furnished with letters of credit in diplomatic form.

It is with regret, Mgr., that I see myself forced, because of the uncertainty and scarcity of means of communication, to address to you, twelve hundred leagues distant, such incomplete relations; but you will at least, find therein some matter of information and the proof of my zeal and application.

I am, with profound respect, etc.,

GÉRARD.

The first public allusion to the above-mentioned Mr. Temple is to be found in the *Penna. Packet* for July 16, 1778, where, under the heading, LONDON, *April 21st.*," is a paragraph which runs: "Yesterday morning, Dr. Berkenhout, and—Temple Esq. set out for Portsmouth to embark for America, supposed to be sent on a private embassy to Congress." *Rivington's Royal Gazette*, announces the arrival of these emissaries, August 5, 1778.

A correspondent of the *Penna. Packet* for September 3, observes: "It is to be hoped that Congress will disappoint them of their base intentions (for they can have no other) of getting among the good people of these states, in order to sow dissensions among us." From this date on, the *Penna. Packet* continues to make warning entries regarding both of these men.

Gérard, in his twenty-second report, September 5, 1778, says:

You will see, Mgr., that Dr. Berkenhout, reported in the papers as being charged with some secret commission to Congress, was arrested on the third of this month. He had been living for several days incognito in Phila. although he had taken a passport at Elizabethtown, from General Maxwell. It was the State of Pennsylvania that arrested him at the instigation of Congress. A letter was found on him addressed to Richard Henry Lee, with whose brother, Mr. Arthur Lee, he has long

been in correspondence. . . . This letter states, in part: "If the English Minister knew that the Americans were decided in their desire for independence, he would give it to them." The writer then offers himself to be the secret negotiator and only asks, in order to begin his task, that the conditions which America would probably accept be given him on a bit of paper. . . . His offers were coldly received; he was made to feel that he would be tried as a spy, necessary severity to impress similar emissaries, supposed to have been sent to all the English Colonies, in order to consolidate Tory sentiment. The Doctor wrote a submissive letter to Congress, assuring them that he had received neither commission nor instructions; it was couched in very equivocal terms, however; he asked moreover to be allowed to return whence he came. It is likely that the State of Pennsylvania will accord him the desired permission after inculcating a salutary fear. Mr. Temple was more adroit, but not more successful. Congress refused his request, but out of respect for certain persons, whose opinion it finds necessary to conciliate, it wrote to him by its secretary, telling him to address himself to the Assembly of the State where he intends to reside. He owns considerable property in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Any commentary on my part would be useless, Mgr.; it would only anticipate your own reflections. I must however add a word relative to the resolution of Congress regarding the demands of the Commissioners; that body has not yet found means to retrace its steps so as to break absolutely with them, but everything that is said to me, and all that I hear indirectly, persuades me that it is firm in its resolution to refuse all negotiation of which independence shall not be the preamble.

The result of its deliberations regarding the ratification of the Convention of Saratoga, is a resolution in which it refuses to accept a ratification founded on inductions, and which would itself require a ratification of Parliament.²

² *Journals of Congress*, Library of Congress Edition, vol. xii, p. 880.

Gérard continues the same subject in his twenty-fourth report.

Mr. Drayton, deputy from South Carolina, who was charged by Congress to reply in his own name to the communications of the Commissioners, has arranged with me the writing which will be published. If it comes from the press before my letter goes off, I will enclose a copy. This article seems to me equally valuable to enlighten the people regarding the intentions and manner of procedure of England, as upon the Alliance with France, and so to offset the work of the Commissioners, whose object has only been to sow doubts and defiance among the people, and to arouse the Tories. Up to the present they have had no cause to applaud their success, even in the latter object. A great number of them in Maryland, New Jersey, and in Pennsylvania, begin to show eagerness to be admitted to the oath of fidelity to the states. Some states have adopted the following formula: I—N— declare that I believe the State of —N— is and should be, free and independent, in fact and of right.

Many of the Tories have objected that they ought not to be forced to declare their sentiments when it was not question of their vote; that their effective submission to the actual government should be sufficient. I admit, Mgr. that I have supported these arguments by every sort of political consideration; several members of Congress are of the same opinion, but the decision remains with each separate state, and I strongly suspect that a similar formula has been sought, in order to render more difficult the return of the Tory Proprietors and to have a pretext for the confiscation of their possessions. In all the Southern Provinces, as well as in New England, nothing is feared from them; they are there either subdued or expelled; but in the central states, commerce with England has attached a great number of inhabitants to the interests of that country. Two-thirds of them could have been relied upon if the ravages of the enemy had not made numerous converts among them, who felt that while they risked everything, they gained nothing by remaining faithful; because the English could only burn

their houses while Congress could confiscate their lands. But there are still a sufficiently great number along the coasts near New York to render the enemy important services. There is a constantly increasing effort to draw a line of separation, but so many private considerations complicate the situation, that I do not know that one can hope to see good measures adopted. The necessity to prevent the manoeuvres of the emissaries suspected to have been sent by the Commissioners into all the provinces for the purpose of banding together the Tories, will perhaps lead to salutary results. They are nowhere in arms except on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, in association with the savages, who, with few exceptions, are openly friendly towards England. . . .

Two days later, in his twenty-seventh report, Gérard writes to Vergennes :

A gentleman of this city announces to me the departure of a vessel for Bordeaux and I profit by the occasion to address to you duplicates of my last letters with to-day's newspaper, which contains the letters, the declaration of Mr. Johnstone, that of the other Commissioners, as also the resolutions of Congress and the detailed refutation which Mr. Drayton makes, under the secret auspices of Congress, of the sophisms advanced by the Commissioners. (Penna. Packet for Sept. 12th. 1778). It is thought here that this article will satisfy France and at the same time enlighten the people of America. I am sending several copies in order to facilitate the translation. The greatest desire is shown to have these documents spread broadcast in America and in Europe. I assume that the author of *Des Affaires d'Angleterre et d'Amérique*, will willingly render this service, and I beg you to be so good as to send me a dozen copies of the translation.

It seems to me, Mgr., that taking the resolution of the Congress with the article which it tacitly authorizes, it has regained part of the lost ground and that the resolution not to treat except upon the basis of independence, by itself annuls the British Commission. Should the Commission permit itself

some new move, it seems probable it will only serve to develop further this resolution, and that the Court of London will be at length convinced that the recognition of independence will be the preliminary of any negotiation. If the first reports of the Commissioners had been made in good faith, without deference to ministerial views, this effect would perhaps already have been produced. Until the moment arrives when this fact is grasped, it is not probable that the political system of that Court will assume consistency. . . .

As a sample of Mr. Drayton's article, above alluded to, the following extract may be of interest. It is addressed to their "Excellencies the Earl of Carlisle, Hon. Gen. Clinton, Knight of the Bath and Wm. Eden, Esq.

Your Excellencies must be sensible that it does not comport with the measures of Congress to make any observations upon your declaration of the 26th of August. But as it was evidently calculated for the people, I make no doubt you will be glad to know what effect it is likely to produce. . . .

And do you really think you have offered everything that is or can be proposed by the French Alliance? I am apt to think your Excellencies are inclined to pleasantry. Pardon me if I introduce a serious idea. I will be short, nay, I will use but a single word. INDEPENDENCE! This is proposed by the Alliance with France. This is not to be found in your offers. . . .

You are astonished at one circumstance; I may be permitted to express a little surprise at another; it is at your assertion that France has *ever* shown herself an enemy to all civil and religious liberty. I cannot suppose that you are unread in the histories of France, of Germany and of the Low Countries. . . . For a period of eighty years from the peace of Westphalia the civil and religious liberty of Germany and the Seven United Provinces, found in the power of France, a friend and a guarantee; and the same power is now a guarantee to the civil and religious liberty of America. On the other hand, the power of England *has been and now is* an enemy to civil and religious liberty. . . . Witness your penal laws against Roman Cath-

olics, and the rejected petitions of dissenters. . . . Witness the present reign in Great Britain. . . . Your Excellencies should look at home before venturing to cast your eyes and your censure abroad. . . .

The final resolution of Congress regarding the ratification of the Convention of Saratoga was not only publicly printed, but the Commander-in-chief was ordered to send a copy to the Commissioners.³

General Washington writes :

HEADQUARTERS, WHITE PLAINES
SEPTEMBER 16TH. 1778.

Gentlemen,

I am commanded by Congress to transmit to your Excellencies the inclosed Resolution.

I have the Honour to be,

With great Respect, Your Excellencies'

Most Obedient Servant,

(Signed) GEORGE WASHINGTON.

This final act seems to have convinced the Commissioners that no further move on their part would serve to bring about the release of the British troops still held prisoners in America.⁴

As a last resource, however, Gen. Clinton, in his capacity as Commander-in-chief of the British Army, wrote personally to Congress, a letter received Sept. 28th. 1778,

³ Stevens's Facsimiles 1155.

⁴ See *Journals of Congress*, vol. xii, p. 901 *et seq.* By an order of Congress, in November, 1778, the army of Burgoyne, numbering at that time some 4,000 officers and men, was marched off to an internment camp in Virginia, a distance of 700 miles, where it remained during the greater part of the war. It was not released until the end, though at that time, through death, desertion and exchanges the number had dwindled to a mere handful. The action of Congress in holding firmly to its prize, was not only a staggering blow to the British, but a humiliation which they bitterly resented.

wherein he attempted by threats to arrive at the desired end. The reply elicited was sent through the Secretary, and was as follows: "Sir: I am directed to inform you that the Congress of the United States of America makes no reply to insolent letters.

I am etc.

(signed) CHARLES THOMSON."⁵

The British Commander did not wait to receive a reply before beginning to put his threat into execution. Gérard writes to Vergennes:

On the 22nd. the English, to the number of from four to five thousand men made a descent upon New Jersey, towards Newark and the Hackensack river; they reembarked after foraging the country.

A few days later he adds more details:

The English continue to devastate the country by little expeditions. Their object seems to be to destroy every small vessel that remains, and every port that serves them as an asylum. They have made several fruitless attempts upon the coasts of New England, and show themselves now, on the shores of New Jersey. . . . All the defenses have been assembled that could be furnished by the surroundings. As regards the descent upon Newark, the troops did not retire as was supposed, but continued their ravages. General Washington has sent several detachments, to join with those that are at Elizabeth-town and to the militia of that part of the Jerseys. . . . In the neighborhood of Hackensack they surprised Col. Baylor with the better part of a regiment of cavalry and nearly one hundred men were massacred in cold blood, having been surprized in the middle of the night by the treachery of a Tory. On the East bank of the North River, a detachment approached an advanced post of General Washington, but fell into an ambush and were either taken or dispersed. . . .

⁵ *Journals of Congress*, vol. xii, p. 964.

You see, Mgr. that General Clinton follows with implacability his plan of destruction. Personal animosity seems to animate him. . . . Congress is deeply affected by the barbarity the English put into their expeditions, and by the massacre of the sleeping troops. They seriously deliberate upon means of reprisal. The great number of officers taken with General Burgoyne seems to put all the advantage of this frightful conflict upon the side of Congress. . . .

A final Manifesto and Proclamation was issued by the Commissioners in October 1778, and addressed to "The Members of Congress to the Members of the General Assemblies of the several Colonies . . . and to all the Inhabitants". In their report to the Secretary for the Colonies, Lord George Germain, they wrote :⁶

NEW YORK, OCT. 15TH. 1778.

Sir,

We have thought proper the 3rd. inst. to issue the inclosed Manifesto and Proclamation, and we trust we have taken such measures for transmitting it both to individuals and different descriptions of men in the several colonies, as must oblige the Rebel leaders (whatever disrespect they may show to the Instrument itself), to allow its circulation among His Majesty's subjects on this continent. . . . Our duty seemed to require an explicit declaration of our purpose, no longer to favor an idea which too many were inclined to entertain from our stay on this continent, that the independency of America was still to be acknowledged. . . . We are not entirely destitute of hopes that the terms we repeat and the pardons we have given, may revive the grateful loyalty of a Few, and the Cautious Feelings of Many. . . .

The "Pardons" were to be good for Forty Days—Oct. 3rd. to Nov. 11th. inclusive—after which "any adherence to the treasonable connections attempted to be framed with a Foreign

⁶ See Facsimiles, 1178.

Power, will, after the present grace extended, be considered as crimes of the most aggravated kind. . . .

CARLISLE,
H. CLINTON,
WM. EDEN.

The measures for transmitting, as announced in the Manifesto, provided for their being carried "by Flags of Truce". Congress at once took measures for thwarting the plans of the British Emissaries and wrote to all the States that the sending of vessels of truce on the occasion of the Proclamation of the Commissioners was contrary to the rights of man and the laws of war, and recommended that the ship's company be detained and treated as spies.

Gérard writes in his thirty-second report :

The vessel destined for Philadelphia, perished on the coast of Jersey. The crew had great difficulty in saving themselves. They were seized by the inhabitants and yesterday brought and imprisoned here. Two officers, said to be of distinguished birth, were in charge of this commission. Their papers were lost. This accident will probably put them in the rank of ordinary prisoners, and, it is said, will save their heads.

In his thirty-sixth report, written November 10, the French Minister writes :

I had the honor of sending you an account of the effect that the Proclamation of the Commissioners had upon Congress. The impression produced upon the people is analogous; a parody in verse, inserted in the *Packet* (for Nov. 5th.) has demonstrated to the people the travesty of that production as the best reasoning could not have done. Nevertheless, the term fixed by the Commissioners expiring the 11th. there is reason to fear that the General may undertake some enterprise to make effectual their threats. . . .

The ship with the flag of truce bearing the Proclamation to Virginia, having arrived near Williamsburg, the Governor or-

dered it off at once, declaring that the State had neither the power nor will to treat with the enemy, and that if they again attempted the same enterprise, they would be regarded and treated as common enemies of America. The resolution of Congress to treat these vessels as spies had not then reached Virginia.

On 14 November in his thirty-seventh report, Gérard says further:

Congress has received certain intelligence that the Commissioners are now engaged in selecting the emissaries whom it has been resolved to send to the number of five or six, into each Province. They are not to be ostensible like Dr. Berkenhout, nor to have any public notice given. On the contrary, these instruments are to act secretly upon the people with whom they are to mix, and in this way the Commissioners hope that a division may be operated among them, and especially that distrust for France may be created. Congress feels the danger of this method. It has addressed instructions to all the States, to engage them to be on the watch for those who enter into their territory, and to seize all suspected persons. . . .

In his forty-first report, dated December 4, Gérard is able to announce:

It is learned from New York that the twenty-fifth of last month the British Commissioners embarked with their belongings on board the *Roebuck*, a vessel of 44 cannon and were to start out with the first favorable wind for England. I do not know what the judgment of the Court and of the nation will be, regarding the manner in which they have executed their commission, but the effect which I have under my eyes demonstrates that it has been prejudicial to England, because the Commission has excited the derision of the Americans. . . .

The general feeling entertained among the Americans at this time for France came out strongly at what Gérard calls "a solemn repast" given by the state of Pennsylvania

in honor of the newly elected President of its Legislative Council, at which he was an honored guest. He says in the same report :

It would be impossible, Mgr., to show more sensibility and joy than that assembly, composed of 156 persons, manifested every time that France or the Alliance was mentioned. When the health of the King was drunk all the halls resounded at the instant with acclamations and great cries of joy; of *HOURLA*, which they repeated three times. The new President having shown to one of his neighbors the portrait of the King (the one with which he honored me at my departure) the whole assembly wished to see it; the box in which it was contained made the circuit of all the tables; a deputation was sent to thank me and to testify to the pleasure with which they regarded the countenance of a monarch, protector of humanity and the best friend the United States could have.

There is no exaggeration, Mgr. in this recital. The transports with which every thing concerning France have been welcomed, persuade me more and more, that all the public officers, and all those capable of thinking, feel, spite of their national prejudices, the full value of the friendship and the actions of His Majesty.

The attitude of the Home Government towards the Commissioners comes out clearly in the reply of Lord George Germain, to their expedition of September 5, 1778, the contents of which reply is revealed in his letter. He writes :⁷

WHITEHALL, OCT. 15, 1778.

My Lord and Sirs,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I am commanded by His Majesty, to signify to you His Majesty's entire approbation of your remonstrance to Congress (that of August 26) and also of your having sent a Duplicate of your Requisition respecting the Saratoga Convention, without its being sub-

⁷ Facsimile 1184.

scribed by Mr. Johnstone . . . as His Majesty would have been unwilling there should have been the slightest Pretext to palliate so gross a violation of the Public Faith as they will be guilty of, who decline making good the terms of that Convention. . . . His Majesty has only hoped that these repeated Remonstrances will at last produce the desired Effect and that if they persist in the unjust detention of those brave but unfortunate troops, it will be a proof to all Europe . . . of the lack of faith of that body.

It was Mr. Johnstone who carried to London in person the next dispatches of the Commissioners. The pouch contained among other things, the final resolution of Congress regarding the Convention of Saratoga, with the letter of General Washington that accompanied it; also a copy of the famous number of the *Pennsylvania Packet* for September 12. There was moreover a letter showing the embarrassment into which the presence of the French Fleet in American waters had thrown the British forces. The reply to this budget by Lord Germain, under date of November 4, is marked *Most Secret and Confidential*.⁸ This shows conclusively that the solidity of the Franco-American Alliance is at last penetrating their consciousness, thus fulfilling the prediction of Gérard made sometime previously. The British Minister writes:

My Lord and Sirs:

Your letter of 21 September was delivered to me by Mr. Johnstone and I took the first opportunity of laying it before His Majesty. . . . I sincerely wish that the resources of this country could afford such reinforcements as might enable Sir Henry Clinton to carry on an offensive War in the most extensive manner; but you must Consider that America is not now the only object of attention but that the whole power of France is to be opposed, and I am sorry to say, that the great arma-

⁸ Facsimiles 1206.

ments of Spain give us too much Reason to apprehend that the Court of Madrid will soon depart from the neutrality which it now professes. This I mention to you in Confidence, that you may see the true state of the situation, and you may be convinced that every possible effort will be made, consistent with the Safety and Interest of this Country, for reducing the Rebels to obedience, and whatever Ideas have been entertained that Independence will be granted them. . . . I have authority to say that no such Proposition will be made or supported by His Majesty's Servants. . . . I hope that the Forces in America will be sufficient to maintain our present Possessions. . . . In the mean time the Rebels will feel severely the effect of the War which will keep their Coast in perpetual alarm, and by taking or destroying their Ships and Stores, while we prevent their growing into a Maritime Power, our own Commerce may be freed from the insults of their Privateers. . . .

The above letter concludes with reiterated assurances of His Majesty's permission for them to return home when this shall seem advisable, but with characteristic obtuseness, the Commissioner for the Colonies adds: "But I shall be happy if you are induced to remain in America by seeing a prospect for restoring Peace, and thereby fulfilling the object of your mission."

The disappointed Commissioners were already on their way back to England when these last instructions arrived. From the "Roebuck" on November 27, 1778, while waiting off Sandy Hook, they wrote their final report, which terminates thus: "We have only to add that we still have the mortification to be without any accounts from Europe of a later date than the beginning of August, and are consequently without the benefit of any Instructions with which your Lordship may have honoured us.

We have the honour to be, etc.

CARLISLE, WM. EDEN."

This early and empty-handed return of the British Com-

missioners to England was a triumph for that party in Congress which favored an honorable adherence to the principles of the Alliance. The party of the Opposition, as Gérard soon begins to call it, had totally different views. These, however, had been thus far held in check through the immediate danger arising from the presence of the British Commissioners in America. This cause of alarm being now removed, personal animosities and private jealousies began quickly to assert themselves and were fanned into fury by an event that soon followed. This was the necessity of hearing the report of Mr. Silas Deane, late Commissioner to France, who had been recalled nearly a year previously for the ostensible purpose of giving an account to Congress of the condition of affairs in Europe. In reality his recall was the direct result of the inordinate jealousy of his colleague at the Court of Versailles, Mr. Arthur Lee. This gentleman, native of Virginia, was a narrow-minded, suspicious character who, it is now known, was seriously endeavoring to get both Franklin and Deane removed and himself made sole Commissioner to France. He had the powerful support in Congress of his two brothers, and, of more consequence still, that of John and Samuel Adams with their friends.

The fundamental note of the policy of the Opposition was to discredit Washington in America, as the too popular head of the Army, and Franklin in France as the much too enthusiastically admired chief of the diplomatic corps. Their only hope of winning for themselves the coveted *first places*, was to throw over France, now that through her coöperation they had secured the vantage point against England, and boldly take into their own hands the initiative in coming to an understanding with the Mother-Country. The first step in the carrying out of their program was getting rid of Silas Deane.

This Commissioner had returned to America in company

with the French Minister, bringing with him a fleet of His Most Christian Majesty, and letters of testimonial from Franklin and the Court of France, all which proofs of the success of his diplomacy only served to deepen the animosity of his enemies against him. In the months that had intervened since his return, although repeatedly urging upon Congress his claim to be heard, he had suffered the continued mortification of having his claim ignored. Roused at last to indignation, he threatened to appeal to the People of America, and to reveal everything, unless Congress decided speedily to hear him. As no reply was forthcoming, he proceeded to put his threat into execution. In its issue of December 1778, the *Pennsylvania Packet* printed a lengthy article addressed to the FREE and VIRTUOUS CITIZENS of AMERICA, a denunciation directed against certain members in Congress, and of their relatives in office; it gave moreover an account of the transactions of Dr. Berkenhout and J. Temple, and accused a prominent delegate of "constantly and pertinaciously maintaining the doctrine" that by the Alliance with France, America was at liberty to make peace without consulting her ally, unless England should declare war. It even went so far as to name Mr. Richard Henry Lee as the said delegate.

Gérard, writing a few days later, December 12, says.

The denunciations made by Mr. Deane continue to develop the feeling that already existed in that regard; moreover, his article does not displease the majority of the members of Congress, weary and ashamed of the ascendancy which they have permitted the party, of which Mr. R. H. Lee and Mr. Samuel Adams are the chiefs, to acquire. Even the Public seems to be pleased with the author for having made the revelations, and reproach him only for having set the example instead of waiting for it.

In his forty-third report, written some days previously

(Dec. 6), Gérard enters more deeply into the accusations made by Mr. Deane in his article. He says:

He published it without letting me know, fearing I would dissuade him. He justifies his action by the necessity of enlightening the Public regarding the operations, the connections and the designs of Mr. Temple and Dr. Berkenhout, whose history you will doubtless recall. . . . The arrival at Philadelphia of the first of these emissaries, animated the zeal of Mr. Deane, and I owe to him the justice of admitting, that relatively to France his sentiments are pure. He assures me that Mr. Temple, since he has been here, holds the same talk as Dr. Berkenhout regarding a speedy reconcilliation. He adds that the month of January will not pass without an English Plenipotentiary arriving. . . .

This Mr. Temple succeeded in getting himself admitted to take the oath in Massachusetts, and has even brought letters of recommendation. He is all the more dangerous since he enjoys all the rights of citizenship. . . . Some zealous members of Congress have denounced his presence and proposed measures of precaution; Mr. Samuel Adams strongly insists that Mr. Temple has only the best intentions, so it is most important that means be found to enable Congress to act against him. . . .

You will be struck, Mgr. with the sentiments he (Mr. Deane) imputes to Mr. Richard Henry Lee. . . . These principles, of which I had the honor to speak to you before, though then ignorant of the author, having now been publically announced, it seems to me that they are of a nature not to be passed by in silence. The occasion appearing to me to be favorable for procuring, in the most positive manner, a pronouncement by Congress, in order to restrain all the members . . . I have decided to ask the President to bring the matter before that body. . . .

In his forty-fourth report, written next day, Gérard continues:

I have taken the step which I had the honor of preparing you

for in my last dispatch. The President received my observations very kindly. I reminded him that he had prevented me from demanding the revocation of the erroneous passage in the writing of Mr. Drayton, but that now the same doctrine, supported by a distinguished member of Congress, and bound to events as surprising as the histories of Messrs. Temple and Berkenhout, made me keenly desire that Congress would let me understand exactly its way of thinking. I added, that so long as the Court of England nourished hopes (which the notions carried away by Gov. Johnstone and the liberty accorded Mr. Temple would have confirmed) to bring the United States to a separate negotiation, or even to lead them to accept conditions incompatible with their independence and with their engagements, that Court would not seriously think of acknowledging their independence in the one suitable manner, by treaties concerted with France. I had moreover, Mgr., reserved for some favorable occasion, the confidence which you have authorized me to make, of the conciliatory negotiations with which Spain has charged herself, and of the refusal of His Majesty to withdraw his declaration, and I told him that the King expected in every occurrence the most perfect return from the United States. My account was accompanied with reflections that seemed to me proper to make them better realize the value of the firmness of His Majesty, who prefers the advantage of the United States and the execution of his engagements to the most advantageous arrangements which England had proposed, and at which price that Court would buy, more willingly than ever, the neutrality of France. All these considerations seemed to strike Mr. Laurens, who in general seems to feel as I do. He deplores the manner in which the affair of Messrs. Temple and Berkenhout has been conducted, but assures me, nevertheless, that he is firmly persuaded that the first of those emissaries would not find a single member of Congress who would listen to his insinuations. He believed himself assured of the disposition of Mr. Samuel Adams himself, notwithstanding the warmth of the latter's personal interest in Mr. Temple. He begged me to express my feelings regarding this emissary. I did not hesitate to reply

that the simple presence in Philadelphia of this man, compromised the dignity and the reputation of Congress and produced every kind of bad effect in France, in England and in the whole of Europe. The President seized all my points, and gave me reason to hope that in a few days, means would be found to send him away. He will be very zealous, because he sees with distress that the State of South Carolina has received Messrs. Godson and Williams, rich proprietors of that state, who having taken refuge in England, have been sent to Charlestown in a parliamentary vessel, and who having been admitted to the oath, abjured the King of England. These are considered very dangerous characters, and their expulsion is sought, for it is supposed they have political dispensation to take all the oaths in order the better to arrive at their ends.

As to the doctrine which I attacked, Mr. Laurens affirmed that it was an opinion that would lead to no consequences. He tried all sorts of ways to elude my request, but I insisted, and I believe he will immediately put my observations before Congress.

That the French Minister was right in his estimate of the character of Mr. John Temple, can to-day be proved beyond a shadow of doubt, for though this man was powerfully supported by many leading patriots in America, he was secretly in the pay of the British. Among the Auckland Mss. in the King's College Cambridge, in the handwriting of Wm. Eden,⁹ is the following note under date of April, 1778; "Mr Temple is to proceed with all possible dispatch to North America, in such ship or vessel as the Minister shall think proper, and pledges his Honour that he will there faithfully exert his utmost influence in assisting the Commissioners now going out, to bring about a reconciliation or reunion, between those Colonies and Great Britain. In consideration of which, and his former faithful services under the Crown, Mr. Temple is to have 2,000 £ sterling

⁹ Stevens's Facsimiles 424.

immediately, and is to be authorized to draw on the Treasury (if the said Commissioners should approve his conduct) for 2,000 £ more; he is to be made a baronet of Great Britain, the Patent for same to be sent out to America by the Commissioners, and independent of the success of the Commission he is to have 2,000 £ per annum (subject to certain specified restrictions) provided the Commissioners now going out to America, shall approve of his conduct in that country." An explanatory note is attached to the above (supposed to be by Lord North) explaining that there must be "notoriety and Weight" to his conduct, sufficient to engage the attention of the Commissioners.

In view of the enormous price which the Government of Great Britain was willing to pay Mr. Temple for his services, we must suppose that important results were hoped for from his intervention and that of the influential friends whose help he could command. Most prominent among the latter, was his father-in-law, Mr. James Bowdoin, President of the Massachusetts Assembly who wrote to General Washington, November 7, 1778:

. . . The Gentleman who waits upon you is Mr. John Temple, Esq. lately returned from England, where he has resided the last eight years. He held at several times, responsible and lucrative offices under the Crown . . . of which he was successively deprived for his refusal to join in the infamous measures for oppressing the trade and liberties of America, and the last four years his continuance in England was the effect of Ministerial persecution. . . . I beg leave to introduce him as a warm, steadfast, persecuted friend to ye cause in America. . . .

The letter ends with a request that the Commander-in-chief send him on to Congress "with a line of recommendation".¹⁰

To this request, Washington responded in the following way:

¹⁰ See *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 78, vol. iii, f. 205.

HEADQUARTERS, NOV. 23RD. 1778,

Mr. Temple will have the honor of presenting this to your Excellency. I do not know what Mr. Temple's views are, but it seems he has some application to make to Congress. I never had till now the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him but from the terms in which Mr. Bowdoin speaks of him, as your Excellency will perceive from the enclosed letter, and from other recommendations I have of him, I consider him as a gentleman of sense and merit and of warm attachment to the rights of his country, for which he seems to have suffered greatly in the present contest. I have the Honour to be, etc.

(signed, G. WASHINGTON.) ¹¹

Jonathan Trumbull, the famous Governor of Connecticut, wrote with no less warmth and feeling as did also the Governor of New Hampshire, Maj. Gen. Sullivan and others. It is not therefore surprising that Congress was not disposed to proceed harshly with this emissary, particularly when he counted many warm personal friends among the delegates themselves.

By what means Mr. Temple had succeeded in ingratiating himself with the authorities in England, while still bearing in America the character of a persecuted patriot, remains obscure. Some further light is thrown upon the subject from a letter preserved among the Mss. of the Earl of Dartmouth, and given by Stevens.¹² This bitterly incriminating letter, dated September 1773, is from Mr. Benjamin Hallowell, former chief of Mr. Temple, and one time Commissioner and Comptroller of the Port of Boston. It is addressed to the under-secretary in the Colonial Office. Mr. Hallowell says in part: "What Mr. Temple could have done since he has been in England to engratiate himself with those in Power, is surprising to all ranks of people here. . . .

¹¹ *Washington Papers*, Library of Congress, vol. 93, f. 12297.

¹² Facsimiles 2029.

If he has cleared his character to the satisfaction of his Superiors, or any others, he has most violently imposed on them. . . .” The letter then proceeds to specific accusations, not only of insubordination, but of embezzlement to the amount of 12,000 £ sterling.

This Mr. Hallowell was himself a Tory whose property was afterwards confiscated. As for Mr. Temple, through the untiring vigilance of the French Minister, all the hopes of the British through him were annihilated. As his reward however, was to be “independent of the success of the Commission,” it is interesting to find him¹⁸ in 1785, Consul-General of the Port of New York, and that now he is “*Sir John Temple*”.

Yet all the while it seems quite certain that the English understood his character. In another facsimile (487) is reproduced a lengthy memorial by Paul Wentworth, an American in the pay of the British who was spying upon Franklin and Deane from the beginning of their being in Paris, which sums up the leading men of the Revolutionary Period for the benefit of the English King. In this, James Bowdoin is characterized as a “weak ignorant man, guided by his passions; vindictive, intemperate, sour. His son-in-law, *John Temple*, is not unlike him, but more plausible, artful, persevering and naughty.”

But to return to the French Minister. While the controversy was still raging regarding the revelations made by Silas Deane, Gérard writes in his forty-fifth report, under date of December 10, 1778:

Monseigneur,

Having perceived in my conversations with the President that, notwithstanding the conformity of his sentiments with mine, he felt out of regard to Mr. Lee, some repugnance to bearing my request to Congress, and that he sought to satisfy

¹⁸ See *Papers of the Con. Cong.*, no. 92, p. 551.

me by keeping me constantly informed, I took upon myself to write him a letter, of which I enclose a copy, but I urged him in presenting it, to assure the Congress that no personalities were intended.

This letter of Gérard's, 'which had all the desired effects, is here given in the official translation preserved in the Papers of the Continental Congress, Vol. 94, pp. 60-63. He writes:

PHILADELPHIA, 7 DECEMBER, 1778.

Sir,

I have had the honor of explaining to you the motives of my embarrassment, on the subject of transmitting to my court, ideas relative to certain persons, strongly suspected of being emissaries of the Court of London, as well as concerning the doctrine which it is pretended, the United States have preserved, of treating with that power separately from their ally, as long as Great Britain shall not have declared war against the King my master. I notified to you, how remote it was to my character, to rely on public rumor, or the reports of any individuals whatever, in a matter as serious as it is delicate, and I expressed to you my desire that Congress itself, would be pleased to furnish the means of forarming my Court, and thro' it of all the present and future friends of the United States, against the impressions which these ideas might produce. . . .

Your zeal, Sir, to your Country, and the preservation of a harmony so happily established, is too well known to me not to hope that you will render an account to Congress of this matter, which my anxiety for whatever regards the support and the reputation of the Alliance makes me consider very important.

I am persuaded, Sir, that you will at the same time be so good as to inform the Congress, of the proof of the firmness and attachment to the interests of the United States, the common cause, and the Alliance, which the King my master, has given in rejecting the overtures which the Court of London has made thro' the channel of Spain.

I have the honor to be, etc.

GÉRARD.

The foregoing letter was read in Congress the same day and a committee of five, namely: Mr. William Henry Drayton, Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, Mr. William Paca, and Mr. John Jay,¹⁴ was appointed to take the matter into consideration.

Commenting still further upon the situation, Gérard in the last mentioned report, observes:

The propriety of my observations was unanimously recognized, and a committee was formed to decide upon the best way to satisfy my request. A great many members have spoken with me about it, some in groups, others separately. All have assured me that, as I have had the honor of informing you from time to time, that the assertions of Mr. Henry Lee have been received with disdain and indignation; that the plurality of the delegates from his state, and of those of Massachusetts, despite the influence of Mr. Samuel Adams, thought with Congress, that the principle of which it was question, would be a manifest infraction, and that it would forever dishonor the United States; that Congress was resolved not to allow me to remain ignorant of anything that could interest the alliance, or serve to conciliate the confidence of the King or of his ministers. Two members protested to me that from hence forth they would not allow a single equivocal word upon these matters to pass without seeing that immediately the public was informed regarding the opinion, and the name of the member supporting it, so as to give them over to the resentment of the nation. The deputy from North Carolina, who has had a seat in Congress since the beginning, has assured me that his state, which had been the farthest from acceding to the Declaration, was to-day, so attached to it as well as to the Alliance, that whoever would propose some modification, would do so at the peril of his life. He added that the State of Virginia, whose sentiment he knows, is entirely of the same disposition. One of the Delegates from Maryland, confided to me that his State is so far imbued with the same ideas that they have orders to do all that lies within their power to convince me of it. . . .

¹⁴ *Journals of Congress*, Lib. of Cong. Edition, vol. xii, p. 1197.

As to Mr. Temple, all the delegates have assured me that Congress thinks absolutely as I do regarding this emissary, and upon his presence in Philadelphia, that it is believed to be one of the means employed by Great Britain to scatter seeds of discord and misunderstanding between the United States and France. They affirm that there are not two men in Congress capable of listening to any proposition of Mr. Temple, but the conduct of the state of Massachusetts hindered their action. Several members consulted me upon the best method for getting rid of him; they assured me that the facts asserted by Mr. Deane had so irritated the people of Philadelphia, that a number of the most considerable citizens had offered to have the chief magistrate seize this emissary, and conduct him outside the city limits; that, moreover, all his acts are noted, and that at the least occasion which he may give, they will proceed against him. . . .

It is added to the details given by Mr. Deane concerning the Lees, that he who distinguishes himself by the name of William, is still on the almanach of the court of London for 1778, as alderman, which is positive assurance, it is said, that he has supplemented in some manner the formalities which continuation in that office requires in the absence of the incumbent. Mr. Francis Lightfoot Lee, who came to replace his brother during the absence of the latter in Virginia, made a feeble reply (to Mr. Deane's article) inserted in yesterday's Packet. He is the last of the four brothers. He and I are on very good terms since my letter to the President. I very well understand, that the fear to see me take sides, will help him to contain himself, better indeed than any step I could take directly. Moreover, I cannot do otherwise than praise infinitely the conduct of Mr. R. H. Lee, who, in his capacity of President of the Board of War, has shown great zeal to procure whatever I have asked for the service of the fleet.

Gérard's forty-sixth report, written two days later, begins with an account of the resignation of Mr. Laurens as President of Congress and the election of his successor, Mr. John Jay. Speaking of Mr. Laurens the French Minister says:

Truly, Sir, I have always found him infinitely zealous, and full of the best intentions. He is, moreover, endowed with sense, and with knowledge, acquired by several voyages to Europe; but by character, and in order to avoid the reproach of assuming authority, he has not perhaps acquired the influence which belongs to his position, and which the good of the cause requires. As for the new President, he has only been here sixteen days, and as I shall see much of him, I shall not anticipate a judgment upon his character, talents and disposition, from the vague notions that I have received so far. He is of French origin, as is also Mr. Laurens; his family is from La Rochelle; he has relatives in Paris. . . .

The committee to which my letter has been referred, is deeply occupied with it. A deputation was sent to me yesterday which testified in the most positive and satisfactory manner, the feeling of the committee and of Congress. This deputation said to me in substance, what a great number of members had already confided, that reason and gratitude, in accord with their engagements, prohibited their treating of peace, without the coöperation of the King; that the Congress had it more and more deeply at heart to convince me of this in order that the same conviction might pass to the minister of His Majesty and thro' him to the friends which he might acquire for America. They avowed that Mr. R. H. Lee had obstinately upheld the doctrine imputed to him. The deputation assured me that not a single member known to them shared his opinion. As to Mr. Temple, they exceeded what I had asked, and consulted me on the best method of sending him away. I replied that perhaps the best thing would be to regard him from the point of view which he himself has put forth, that of being a good American citizen, and to say to him, that as he had no special business in Philadelphia which could justify his staying there, he would give the best proof of his attachment and zeal for the United States by keeping at a distance from the place where Congress meets. It seemed to me, Mgr., that this idea was calculated to avoid the dangers that were feared. It seemed to me allowable to assure the Committee that no one in Europe doubted that Mr. Temple was an English emissary, furnished with secret instructions. . . .

Mr. Samuel Adams, came recently to justify himself regarding any consequences which might be drawn from his connection with Mr. Temple; he protested that he had only once entertained him in his home, and that he showed him this courtesy simply because he was recommended by the state which he represented. The ostensible subject of this apology was a paragraph in the Packet for the 8th. of the month, where a certain delegate was warned not to receive such frequent visits from Mr. Temple. Mr. Adams declared that he was invariably attached to the Alliance and had me to read some passages in the letters of the Governor and several other chiefs, and indicated that he shared their sentiments. As I know, Mgr., that notwithstanding his intimate friendship with Mr. Lee, he has not adopted his opinion, I assured him that I was persuaded that a man who had taken such a leading part in the Revolution, and who had felt the pleasure of contributing to the happiness of his country, would never stoop to betray or dishonor it. . . .

Samuel Adams speaks of his interview with the French Minister and of the embarrassment caused him by the presence of Mr. Temple, in a series of letters written at this time to his wife and several of his friends. (See, Writings of Samuel Adams by H. A. Cushing; Vol. IV. pp. 95-110). To John Winthrop he writes in part as follows:

PHILAD. DECR. 21 1778

My Dear Sir:

Your obliging letter of the (9th) of November was delivered to me by Mr. Temple immediately after his Arrival here. I must candidly confess that when the Gentleman informed me by his Letter dated in New York, of his Intention then to pay a Visit to this City, I was disagreeably impressed with it, and interested myself, as far as I could do it with Decency, to prevent it. . . . The testimonials he has brought with him, added to the warm Recommendations of some of my most virtuous and honorable Fellow Citizens have not been sufficient to obtain for him a welcome Reception. The Time & Manner of his leaving England, the Company he came with and the

favorable Treatment he met with in New York, were judged to be Grounds of Suspicion which more than balanced the Recommendations of his Friends & Countrymen, who, though acknowledged to be very respectable, it was supposed, might possibly be partial in their judgments of him. His Connections in Boston, & the Character he had sustained there before he left that Place, it was said, made him the fittest Instrument to carry into Effect the Purposes of the British Ministers. . . .

I do not suspect Mr. Temple; but I have been under the Necessity of violating my own Inclination to pay every kind of respect to that Gentleman, or risque the *consistent* Character which a Delegate of that State ought to support in the Opinion of Congress, of the Minister of France and the People of America. I have conversed with that Minister on this Occasion; and I have Reason to think we concur in opinion, that however pure the Views & Intentions of any Gentleman may be, yet if a Suspicion generally prevails that he is secretly employed by the British Court his continuing to reside near the Congress may make improper Impressions on the Minds of our Friends abroad. Mr. Temple left this City yesterday.

December 19th., in his forty-seventh report, Gérard is able to announce:

Congress has unanimously adopted the counsel I gave them relative to Mr. Temple, and have disembarassed themselves of a man dangerous by his talents, his insinuating manners, and still more by an error that he has helped to widely propagate, namely, that there is no difference between an American Whig and an English Whig—regrettable misconception caused by an abuse of words, and the feeling that certain individuals who pleaded their cause before their declaration of Independence, are still their best friends regardless of the present state of affairs.

On the 24th, pursuing the same subject, Gérard writes:

Mr. Temple left the city the day after the hint was given to him that I had suggested. It will doubtless seem unbelievable

to you, but I have very authentic information for believing it to be true, that Mr. Temple's hope, seconded by his friends, was, to have been employed in Foreign Affairs. Nevertheless, those who supported him are simply supposed to have been blinded by ancient connections. . . .

In a postscriptum is added, Dec. 25th. :

The manner in which Congress shall reply to my demand, relative to the doctrine of Mr. Lee, is still vigorously debated in Committee. It has been confidently communicated to me that four members approve, and that Mr. Samuel Adams, who is the fifth, and a friend of Mr. Lee, opposes and tries to persuade them that the object being regulated by the treaty, needs no explicit answer. I have warned his colleagues against such a false and insidious reply, and I hope they will persevere in their attitude.

This matter is touched upon again at the end of the forty-ninth report, under date of December 30.

Mr. Richard Henry Lee, Mgr., came to communicate to me a letter, the translation of which I think right to send you, that it may serve as proof of the effect of my conduct towards that person. The conduct of Mr. Samuel Adams is not less assiduous towards me, which proves that my neutrality imposes upon them as much as the opposite would do. I wish it might bring them to sentiments which, except for them, Congress unanimously professes. Mr. Francis Lightfoot Lee, also has made every possible advance to me, and does not cease to praise my solicitude for the honor of Congress and for the reputation of the Alliance. These beautiful demonstrations do not destroy my distrust, because I know positively, that it is Mr. Samuel Adams who, alone, by little artifices, and petty quibbling, prevents my receiving, relative to the doctrine of Mr. Lee the very positive and very satisfactory reply, which the other members of the committee have long since adopted.

As Congress still remained silent upon this subject, the

French Minister, after waiting until Sunday, January 10, 1779, addressed a still more urgent appeal, politely but firmly demanding a "speedy, formal and categorical declaration" of the mind of Congress.¹⁵ This procedure had the desired effect; three days later the French Minister received the following letter from the President of Congress.

PHILA. JAN. 13TH. 1779.

Sir,

It is with real satisfaction that I execute the order of Congress, in sending you the inclosed copy of an Act of the 11th instant, on a subject rendered important by affecting the dignity of Congress, the Honor of their great Ally and the interest of both nations.

The explicit disavowal and high disapprobation of Congress, relative to the publications referred to in this Act, will, I flatter myself, be no less satisfying to His Most Christian Majesty, than pleasing to the people of these States: nor have I the least doubt but that every attempt to injure the reputation of either, or impair their mutual confidence, will meet with the indignation and resentment of both.

I have the honor to be, Sir, etc.

(Signed) JOHN JAY.

Gérard replied on the following day:

I have received the letter you honored me with the 13th of this month, containing the resolution of Congress in reply to the representations which I had the honor of making the 5th. and 10th. . . . and I entreat you to receive and to express to Congress the great appreciation which I feel for the noble, frank and categorical manner in which they have destroyed the false and dangerous insinuations, which might mislead ignorant people, and put arms into the hands of the common enemy.

To the King, my Master, no proofs are necessary, Monsieur, for the foundation of confidence in the firm and constant adherence of Congress in the principles of the Alliance, but His

¹⁵ *Papers of the Continental Congress*, Vol. 94, p. 87.

Majesty will always see with pleasure the measures which Congress takes to maintain its reputation intact. . . .

I am with respect and consideration, etc.

GÉRARD.

The reply of the French Minister, together with the resolution of Congress and the letter of the President, are to be found printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for January 16, 1779, (also in the Journals of Congress, Library of Congress Edition, Vol. 13, pp. 62 ff.)

In transmitting the above enclosures in his fifty-third report, Gérard writes:

I hope, sir, that you will be satisfied with the issue of these affairs. They had become very complicated and very delicate; not however, as to ground of the matter, for not a single member voted against the declaration that I demanded, but the friends of the persons who thought themselves compromised, notwithstanding the extreme care I took to avoid personalities, . . . sought to diminish the effects which they feared, and used all sorts of artifices to render the resolutions less explicit. They came to sound me, but I persisted in demanding that they be catagoric. Indecent personalities were indulged in during the debates. I shall, Sir, spare you the details; they are neither instructive nor edifying. . . .

I will add Sir, only one remark, which is, that the turn of the debates upon Messrs. Temple and Berkenhout as well as the upon the writings of Mr. Deane . . . have always had the air of a deliberate attack upon France, and also that the party of the Opposition, has never been composed of any one but the Messrs. Lee and their partisans; they continue to show me special marks of attention. I only hope that their interior resentment may remain centered in their hearts.

With the settling of this vexed question, the first essential problem which confronted Gérard on coming to America, came to a satisfactory termination. The second problem, which grew out of the first, was already, with all its com-

plexities, surging to the front in the consciousness of men's minds, and was ranging them, with ever accentuating bitterness, into the two opposite camps which the Congressional discussions just announced showed to be already existent. This is the second phase of the test to which the powers of the French Diplomat are to be put. It will be interesting to watch the battle as it progresses, to note the keen contest for supremacy, and finally, to see on which side victory will declare itself. Before taking up this second phase, however, it will be necessary to turn back, in order to fill in the details of the picture whose outline has here been drawn. Again, it is the reports of Gérard that will furnish us the material for this detail.

ELIZABETH S. KITE.

*Library of Congress,
Washington, D.C., March 8, 1922.*

**REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEET-
ING, TUESDAY, DECEMBER, 20, 1921**

The Board of Managers of the American Catholic Historical Society at this thirty-seventh annual meeting reports that nine meetings were held during the year now closing, one public entertainment was given, and several meetings for the general membership were held in the Society's Hall, for literary and historical investigation and discussion. The books and documents and periodicals in the possession of the Society have been available for the use of the public, and probably during no year of the Society's existence has there been such a large use made of these records.

The Board has endeavored to carry into effect the very laudable purposes of the Society, and has, it believes, ac-

complished this mission with a degree of success that cannot possibly be measured by mere statistics.

During the year the loss of members by deaths was 21, and the new members total 21, as follows:

NEW MEMBERS.

The Rev. Herman Andrée,	Miss Mary A. Lowry,
The Rev. Leo Fink,	Mr. George H. McCracken,
Bishop Neumann Council, K. of C.,	Mr. Charles H. McFadden,
Miss Laura Blackburne,	Miss A. V. Mannion,
Mr. George Cooke,	Miss K. R. Mannion,
De La Salle Council, K. of C.,	Mr. Harry J. Mulholland
Mr. Edward J. Dillon,	Mrs. T. C. Rafferty,
Mr. John B. Geraghty,	Mr. John E. Reilly,
Miss Margaret E. Horan,	Mrs. Sarah A. Schaul,
Mr. John J. Kelly,	Miss Hannah Shields,
	Miss Ruth Sullivan.

DEATHS.

His Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons,	Miss Mary E. Dugan,
The Right Rev. Matthew Harkins, D.D.,	Mr. Henry C. Esling,
The Rev. Ladislav Kloucheck,	Mr. J. J. Fitzgerald,
The Rev. Daniel A. Morrissey,	Mr. P. T. Hallahan,
The Rev. Lemuel B. Norton,	Mr. Anthony A. Hirst,
The Rev. James P. Parker,	Mr. M. P. Howlett,
The Rev. John F. X. Walsh,	Mr. J. Percy Keating,
The Rev. Anthony J. Zeller,	Dr. H. P. McAtriff,
Mr. John M. Campbell,	Mr. John McAteer,
Mr. John P. Doherty,	Dr. Edward J. Nolan,
	Mr. Thomas J. Roche.

Owing to prevailing conditions, economically and industrially, no especial campaign for new members was made during the year. The acquisitions are an indication that the Society, even in this period of widespread depression, is neither neglecting its work nor losing its hold upon the people.

Recently Dr. L. F. Flick, whose life has been zealously bound up with the work of this Society, touched upon a matter that is vital in the life of this organization. The present membership is composed largely of men and women

who are not in early youth; and the mortality is increasing steadily. The need for enlisting the coöperation of youthful Catholics is growing more urgent every year, and an effort must be made to bring the younger generation into the Society. Those who are now performing the labors must be replaced, and the task of seeing to this is not for to-morrow but for to-day.

The Catholic youth must be made to see the necessity for helping in the mission of the Society, of which there is so real a need. Just how this can be done is worthy the serious thought of the Society in the new year.

The Board announces with much satisfaction the completion of the work of indexing *The Records* of the Society, comprising thirty-one volumes. This had been in the hands of a competent indexer for several months, entailing considerable expense, all of which has been paid from the Society's revenues. The MS. is ready for the printer and will soon be published. An examination of the *Index* will show that the work has been done in a most careful manner. This new volume will make accessible to everyone the historical treasures that make up the *Records*, and will be a companion work to the Index of Martin I. J. Griffin's *Researches*, issued several years ago, and which has found its way into a large number of libraries of this country and Canada.

Much work has been done this year in binding newspapers and periodicals, but a great deal remains to be done in this field. The Committee on Library and Cabinet has gone to the extent of its pecuniary resources in the matter of binding, and if many valuable publications are to be preserved, additional funds must be provided. This is one of the most pressing problems the new Board of Directors will be called upon to face.

The Library has had many additions during the year. Several volumes have been purchased and others have been

contributed by friends of the Society. The Board feels grateful to all who have so kindly assisted in this important work.

On May 19, 1921, in the Ball-Room of the Bellevue Stratford Hotel the Society held a concert and dance and gave a short drama. This was the only public entertainment given by the Society during the present year. It was a success in every way, affording pleasure to several hundred people and netting the treasury a good sum. The Board thanks the members of the Montani Palestrina Choir, and the director, Mr. Nicola A. Montani, for their kindness in presenting the splendid musical program; to the St. Francis Aid and the Juniors, whose dancing and May Pole finale were notable features of the entertainment, and to all the members of the Society for their assistance in bringing off the affair so well.

Early in the year, Miss Dallett arranged special meetings in the Society's Hall for the reading and studying of history and literature, which have been attended by a number of members and guests. Further plans to enlarge the social program during the coming year are afoot.

The Society has been for three years under the presidency of Mr. Edward J. Galbally, whose service in that office have been of the highest value. Few understand the many difficulties which face the chief official of an organization such as this, and fewer still are willing to undertake the burdens. Mr Galbally had given years of service to the Society previously to his election as president, and his induction into that office meant for him but an extension of that service. As President he has labored unceasingly to have the Society fulfil its mission. In maintaining and adding to the Society's efficiency as an adjunct to the Church, and in spreading its influence as a national historical body, Mr. Galbally has kept the Society well within its financial resources, meeting all expenses and leaving no floating debt. The Society owes

to its retiring President more than mere gratitude for his achievements, for his scholarly addresses at each annual meeting, for his wise direction of the work of the whole organization. The Board is confident that Mr. Galbally will continue with those at the forefront in the management of the Society.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDING
NOVEMBER 30, 1921.

Receipts.

Dues from active members	\$1790.00	
Dues from contributing members	6.00	
Dues from life members	100.00	\$1896.00
<hr/>		
Subscriptions to RECORDS	\$406.33	
Advertisements in RECORDS	440.37	
Sale of RECORDS and RESEARCHES	107.60	954.30
<hr/>		
Subscriptions to Binding Fund		302.00
Subscriptions to INDEX Fund		160.00
Subscription to Endowment Fund		10.00
From de la Roche estate		57.18
Proceeds of May Festival		1187.03
Donation from St. Vincent's Aid		100.00
Interest on bonds, Endowment Fund		190.00
Interest on bonds, Life Membership Fund..		45.00
Interest on deposit, General Fund		10.79
Interest on deposit, Life Membership Fund,		29.56
Interest on deposit, Endowment Fund		7.54
Interest on deposit, Memorial Care Fund ..		17.34
		<hr/>
Balance Dec. 1, 1920		537.09
		<hr/>

\$5503.83

Expenses.

Account of Committee on Hall:

Interest on mortgage	\$210.00
Water rent	14.52
Gas	8.70
Electricity	13.72
Coal	428.35
Repairs	187.16
House supplies	16.86
Janitor's service	306.00
<hr/>	
	\$1185.31

Account of Committee on Library:

Books and magazines	\$97.26	
Catalogue cards	9.15	
Binding	210.20	
Hauling books to library	5.00	321.61
		<hr/>

Account of Committee on Publication:

Printing RECORDS	\$1081.66	
Hauling and postage	19.16	
Wrappers	7.79	1108.61
		<hr/>

Account of Secretary:

Postage, printing, stationery ..	\$263.21	
Telephone	51.09	
Salaries	1500.00	
Dues in Federation of Hist. Soc.	2.00	
Expenses of May Festival	316.30	
Indexing RECORDS	325.50	2458.10
		<hr/>

Transfer to Endowment Fund	10.00	
Transfer to Life Membership Fund	100.00	
Transfer to Memorial Care Fund	17.34	\$5200.97
		<hr/>
Balance Dec. 1, 1921, General Fund		<u>\$302.86</u>

Endowment Fund:

Invested in bonds	\$3900.00	
On deposit in Beneficial Saving Fund	215.50	\$4115.50
		<hr/>

Life Membership Fund:

Invested in bonds	\$1000.00	
On deposit in Beneficial Saving Fund	1000.00	\$2000.00
		<hr/>

Memorial Care Fund	496.79
Binding Fund	364.25
Index Fund	94.50

NOTE.—Index and title-page of Volume XXXII will be sent to subscribers with the June issue of the RECORDS.



CF 1461

VOL. XXXIII

JUNE, 1922

NO. 2



Records
of the
**American Catholic
Historical Society**
of
Philadelphia

WITH WHICH IS COMBINED
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

Published Quarterly by the Society

725 SPRUCE STREET, PHILADELPHIA

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\$2.00 PER YEAR

SINGLE NUMBER, 50 CENTS

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RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XXXIII

JUNE, 1922.

No. 2

THE RIGHT REVEREND CAMILLUS P. MAES, BISHOP OF COVINGTON

HIS YOUTH

AMONG the Bishops of Belgian birth who have presided over American dioceses, the Right Rev. Camillus P. Maes, of Covington, Kentucky, is surely entitled to take rank as one of the most eminent; he may even safely be said to stand out prominently in the galaxy of Bishops of the United States, whatever their nationality.

It is a trite saying that we may safely judge of a man's worth by the influence over his contemporaries and over posterity. In the following pages we shall attempt to apply that touchstone to the late Bishop Maes by drawing a sketch of his life-work in which the plain facts shall be left to speak for themselves and we presume to vouch from the very outset, that they will speak loudly enough. Yes, proudly may the bosoms of Belgian readers heave in taking cognizance of their countrymen's achievements in the land whose name has been incessant—upon theirs and their people's lips throughout the cruel years of sorrow and dis-

trass from which the nation martyred for justice' sake but lately emerged.

Camillus Paul Maes was born at Courtrai March 13, 1846. He was the scion of one of these old-time devoutly religious families, with whom the Faith and all concomitant Christian virtues seem to run in the blood and be transmitted from generation to generation.¹ His mother was the sister of two priests; the Rev. Edward Ghyoot, at one time professor of mathematics at St. Amandus' College, Courtrai; and the Rev. Bruno Ghyoot, who died at the ripe age of eighty-five years as chaplain of St. Amandus' Home, Zweveghem. Besides these two uncles, Monsignor Maes had three cousins in the priesthood: one in the diocese of Cambrai and two in that of Bruges: one is still alive and pastor of Wytschaete, W. Flanders.

During the two first years of his classical studies, which young Maes made in his home-town at the College of St. Amandus, he led in his class. His father's death, having compelled him to interrupt his studies, he spent a year earning his own livelihood in a civil engineer's office and making the best of his spare time to study architecture with a well-know Courtrai architect. The knowledge he managed to glean in the latter's office, coupled with the practical knowledge gained clerking at the engineer's, stood him in good stead when as a priest and secretary to his Bishop and later on as bishop himself, the auditing of accounts and reports and manifold building cares took up much of his time and put to use his varied talents. Wonderfully indeed does Divine Providence lead men on, fitting them for their task in life, and wonderfully does It turn apparent misfortunes to advantage for the sake of greater good, not only to the individual soul, but to the souls of many.

¹ The following anagram has been formed out of the name Camillus Maes: *Clama, silemus; sile clamamus.*

At the end of a year of battling with the world, young Maes felt inclined to pursue his classical studies, greatly encouraged thereto by his Reverend uncle, Professor Ghyoot, at whose brother's home he had in the meantime been admitted as a child of the house. He grew up with his uncle's son and entertained for him through life a brother's affection. What the uncle's house had been during the orphan's youth, the cousin's house became in later years—a real home, where the missionary from America made his headquarters when in Europe for business or rest.

Despite the year's interruption, young Maes was privileged to pursue his studies with his former classmates, and, entering the third Latin with them, he came as yet within one of being the leader of all his companions; and when he finished his college curriculum, it was with first honors in French, in Flemish and in History, carrying off besides the first prizes for French and Flemish composition at the diocesan intercollegiate contest between the students of Rhetoric, and an accessit at the national competition between all the State, and State-subsidized, schools.

It was the successful rhetorician's dream to become a missionary in the United States, of whose dearth of priests echoes had reached his ears, probably through the appeals of American Bishops ever and anon visiting Belgium in those days in quest of clerical vocations, and through the propaganda made by the recently founded American College of Louvain. But as his uncle the Professor resolutely set his face against the laudable aspiration, he was moved to enter upon the study of philosophy with the intention of joining the clerical ranks of the Bruges diocese. In his heart of hearts, for all that, continued to linger the feeling that his life's work lay in the broader, more difficult and less attractive field of missionary endeavor. God had him by the hand and led him His own Divine way, using men as instruments to point out the direction, now by round-

about tracks, now by short cuts, according as the longer route or the shorter path was more conducive to reach the goal intended from on High. At Roulers, seat of the elementary seminary of the Bruges diocese, the young laureate found a teacher of no mean order in the person of Professor Jungmann, who was also his professor of dogma at Bruges Seminary, whither his singular merits led him from Roulers, before he was called upon to fill a chair in the higher faculty of theology, at Louvain University. No doubt that this learned professor exercised a great influence over the future Bishop of Covington and helped him particularly to acquire that love of study which he preserved through life and caused him to be regarded as one of the best theologians of the American Episcopate of his time and generation.

Camillus Maes remained in the Seminary of Bruges till Oct. 1867, when he entered the Louvain American Seminary.

How came he to take this step?

During the course of the year 1867, Monsignor Lefevre, Bishop of Detroit, toured Belgium in search of laborers for his extensive vineyard in Michigan, and of means to bring order out of chaos in a field that lay fallow and waste. Just at the time that His Lordship put up at Bruges, the seminarians were looking forward to an ordination. His presence caused to germinate in the minds of some the hope to receive Holy Orders at his hands. Camillus Maes, who stood before Minor Orders, was of those who cherished that hope—the hope of being ordained by a missionary bishop.

Monsignor Faict, however, jealous of his rights and privileges, was not likely to be the man to request a stranger to act in his stead at that episcopal function; but when the appointed day came round, a sudden spell of sickness compelled him to have recourse to the good

offices of his visiting episcopal colleague. When the ceremony was over three of the newly-ordained begged for the privilege of a private interview with the ordaining Prelate, who was not a little pleased to hear from their lips, that they longed to share his apostolic labors in America. When, shortly after, His Lordship of Bruges received Bishop Lefevre and asked for his indebtedness, he was startled to hear of the price the American Prelate set upon his labors—three of the young men whom he had ordained. Bishop Faict found the fee out of all proportion to the service rendered and objected most strenuously. A friendly tilt ensued and ended with the Bishop's compromising on one candidate for the missions; but when Bishop Lefevre named his choice—Camillus Maes new protests arose. No, not he; he could not be spared. There was no use however arguing this time: Bishop Lefevre overruled all objections and held fast to his claim and Monsignor Faict was made to hold to his word. He gave up young Maes, albeit grudgingly; for he manifested his pique even two years later, when Father Maes presented himself to bid a last farewell before his departure for the States. The Bishop received him very coolly and forgot even to bestow his blessing upon the kneeling son whose heart was set upon carrying abroad the fruit of his Belgian training and apostolic aspirations. Twenty years later, the Venerable Prelate made good his slight, or oversight, by being the first to bend the knees for the benison of the younger man who had come back from America himself a bishop.

The Bruges seminarian finished his theological curriculum at the Louvain American College and tasted the first sweets of ordination on Dec. 19, 1868; but he did not see his youthful dreams fully realized until May of the following year, when he boarded the west-bound vessel that landed him in the land of promise a few weeks later. The diocese of Detroit, for which he had been ordained, offered a grand

and promising field to his burning zeal; it wanted men of his mettle to be made to bear the richest of harvests.

FIRST CHARGES IN AMERICA

Alas! the Diocese was in mourning when our young missionary reached it; its Bishop, Mgr. Lefevre, had on the previous 5th of March exchanged for the crown of immortality the pastoral burden which his sturdy shoulders had borne well-nigh twenty-eight years. Pending the appointment of a new shepherd, the administrator dispatched the latest addition to the diocesan clergy to Mount Clemens, an extensive mission, which was presided over by a sick Belgian priest, Father Van Renterghem, whom hardships and overwork were hurrying to the grave. He died upon the 20th of November of the same year and was immediately succeeded by his coadjutor of a few months, which leaves us to infer that the dearth of priests was great in the diocese at the time. Father Maes refers to it in one of his early letters to "*Rond den Heerd*"² a Flemish periodical now extinct but at that time in a flourishing way.

He wrote: "The first question you will no doubt ask me is: 'Does your diocese need more priests?' Well, my friend, I'll leave you to judge for yourself: our diocese counts more than 150,000 Catholics attended by eighty-eight priests; and mind you that these 150,000 members of the Church are scattered about throughout practically all of Michigan, which covers an area of 50,243 square miles or five times the surface of Belgium, which, if I am not mistaken, lays claim to but 11,313 square miles of territory. New settlers by the thousands flock in every year, while the additions to the clergy no more than fill the gaps left by death.

Mount Clemens was a parish which, at the time of Father

² Vol. V. p. 143.

Maes's first connexion with it, counted upward of 300 Catholic families, whose homes were sprinkled about a district fifteen square miles in extent. "My parishioners", wrote he, "are mostly Canadians, descendants from the pioneer French emigrants, with a considerable mixture of Indian blood among them; but I have also Irish, some forty German and even a few Flemish, families. Hence do the four languages—French, English, German, and Flemish—stand in good stead here, and the three first are of primordial necessity."³

Mount Clemens, pleasantly situated on the Clinton River, some five miles from Lake St. Clair and, by the Grand Trunk R. R., sixteen miles from Detroit, boasted in 1869 four thousand inhabitants, whose church membership was divided among seven denominations, six of which had their own house of worship. The Catholics were the most numerous; for they claimed as many members as the six other denominations—Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans and Second-Day Adventists—combined. The parish is entitled to our special attention from the fact that three countrymen of ours had a share in its development:—the subject of our sketch, Bishop Lefevre, and Father Van Renterghem. Even before their time, there dwelt in those parts scattered Catholic families, who were visited off and on by some priest or other residing at Detroit. One of these was the only priest in the History of the United States who ever held a seat in Congress, Father Richard,⁴ who was wont to visit those missions twice a year. His advent was generally heralded a few weeks in advance by a messenger who rode up and down the straggling settlements with the gladsome tidings

³ *Rond Den Heerd*, Vol. V. p. 144.

⁴ Born at Saintes, France, 15 October 1767; came to Detroit in 1798 and died there a victim of his charity during a cholera epidemic, 13 September 1832.

of the priest's coming. Gladsome tidings they were, indeed, for the forsaken children of the Faith bereaved of spiritual aliment. When the appointed day neared, they dropped their instruments of labor, donned their traveling clothes and from all points of the compass in a radius of from forty to sixty miles, they hastened through woods and swamps on horseback, by boat, in wagons to the meeting-point, at what is now Mount Clemens, where they pitched their tents and camped a week, a fortnight, until they had seen the much-harassed priest arrive and depart—depart perhaps for another distant settlement and a repetition of the same scenes and of the same labor of preaching, confessing, baptizing, blessing marriages, instructing for first Communion, etc. The task was hard and fatiguing, but fruitful in merits and results.

The wooden chapel erected in those early days having fallen into decay, a certain Mr. Clemens—whence the name of Mount Clemens—presented the Catholic residents with a piece of ground for the erection of a new house of worship. The liberality brought Bishop Lefevere to the place, prompting him to set about himself to direct the building of the new church. When it was finished, he charged a priest residing at Detroit with the duty of attending the mission at stated times. This was done until 1845, when the first pastor was appointed. He stayed but one year, however, and was succeeded by Father Van Renterghem, a native of Zwevezeele, West Flanders, ordained by Bishop Lefevere March 22, 1845 and at once detailed for duty on Mackinack Island. His rather weak constitution not being able to cope with the seven months of snow and bitter cold of Upper Michigan, he was transferred in 1846 to Mount Clemens, the worse off in health for his first year's experience in the ministry. Father Maes wrote of him:

“He ministered to the missions of Mount Clemens from 1846-1869, all who knew him wondering how he ever

stood all the hardships of his charge and held out so long. In the performance of his pastoral duties he was wont to travel a distance of sixty miles along the island waters, on foot, on horseback, by water and by land, through dense forests and fever-breathing marshes, bringing religious comfort to the scattered sheep of a flock among whom he is still spoken of as *Le bon petit père*. He enlarged the Mount Clemens church, added a steeple with a bell to it; and in 1858, after his return from a collecting tour in Belgium, he adorned it with new altars and enriched it with candlesticks, church vestments, etc.⁵

Such was the field upon which Father Maes bestowed the premisses of his sacerdotal career; it did not afford a chance for any *otium*, either with or without *dignitate*; for to come into contact with his people and to answer their calls, he had to be up early and late, to make long and tedious journeys, by day and by night, in all sorts of weather, often over impossible roads and most primitive conveyances.

In a letter to *Rond den Heerd* ⁶ he left an illustration of what was at times expected of him. It was during the Christmas night of 1869, that he received a call to the bedside of a Protestant youth living way out in the country. The bleak wintry air was chilling to the marrow, the way was long, time was pressing and the case was a delicate one: the young man needed to be instructed in the essentials of the Faith, to be received into the Church and to be prepared for death—all of which was done. And when done it was, the young priest hurried away from the pallet of the dying neophyte, whose heart was overflowing with gratitude, with the gratifying feeling warming up his blood in the piercing cold, that he had saved a soul. Light at heart and buoyant in spirits, he went through

⁵ *Rond den Heerd*, Vol. V, p. 286.

⁶ Vol. V. p. 144.

the trying string of duties of the night and morning, unconscious of fatigue and hunger. It was past the hour of noon, when he could break his fast and give rest to body and spirit; but he was happy at the thought of having ushered in the anniversary of the Saviour's birth by making secure the salvation of a soul.

From Monsignor De Nève, the seminarian for Detroit had learned to realize the primordial importance of the parochial school for the Catholic Church in America. With the essentially practical lessons of the grand old Rector of the American College still sounding in his ears, the devoted disciple had from the very first set his heart upon hastening the endowment of the parish of Mount Clemens with a Catholic school. Not one year was he at the helm, when he laid the foundation of a stone school-house and of a convent-home for the Sisters Servants of Mary, whom he prevailed upon to come to the parish.

Further plans to raise the congregation's standard were germinating in the youthful pastor's brain, when in 1871, scarcely two years after his arrival, he was called away to Monroe, to share with the late vicar-general and several times administrator of the Diocese of Detroit, Msgr. Edward Joos⁷ in shepherding the most important parish of the diocese at the time.

Ability and zeal had drawn the Bishop's attention to Father Maes: they were responsible for the change. Did it please him? We know not. It certainly did not please his people, who applied to him the words of the poet:

"... in his duty prompt at every call,
He watched and wept, he prayed and felt for all;
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries,
To tempt her new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.

⁷ Father Joos was a native of Somerghem, East Flanders.

Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt, and pain, by turns dismayed,
The reverend champion stood. At his control
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul;
Comfort came down the trembling wretch to raise,
And his last faltering accents whispered praise.*

ASSISTANT AT MONROE

St. Mary's, Monroe, was a mixed congregation for French-Canadian and English-speaking Catholics, in which everything was done to accommodate both elements; but for all that, difficulties inherent to the at best makeshift arrangement cropped up off and on and made a division desirable, the more so that the English contingent of the parish was steadily increasing in numbers, and in civic importance in the community. Seeing the need and conscious of the opportunity, Father Maes, freighted with his superior's encouragement and blessing, undertook the formation of a new congregation for the English-speaking Catholics and directed the building of the church of St. John the Baptist, which was inaugurated in 1873. He was appointed its first pastor and remained such until 1880, winning in the meantime universal sympathy, especially through the zeal which he displayed in caring for the children, who loved him as a good kind father interested in all their joys and childish cares, and who were often the means through which he reached the hearts of the parents.

The fervor and the religious earnestness of the parishioners, enkindled and kept aglow by the burning zeal and holy earnestness of the pastor, made of St. John the Baptist's a model parish, which, after having forced the attention of many of the clergy and laity, also drew the attention of Bishop Borgess, the successor to the late

* Oliver Goldsmith: *The Deserted Village*.

Bishop Lefevre. He could not fail to appreciate the results attained and the man through whom they were attained as well as his gifts of mind and heart. No one was surprised, therefore, and everybody approved, when in March 1880, he called the pastor of St. John the Baptist's from Monroe to Detroit, to make him his secretary.

THE SECRETARYSHIP AT DETROIT

In this office he found a broader field to bring into play his many-sided qualities and to use advantageously the knowledge gathered from the broad range of his reading. If the burden was a heavy one, the back was fitted for it, ready and willing to carry it unflinchingly and cheerfully. With what feelings he assumed the charge appears from a letter that he wrote at the time to Msgr. De Nève, the revered old rector of the American College. In it we read: "The secretaryship I accepted only because when prostrated on the pavement of Mechlin Cathedral during my priestly ordination, I promised never to ask any place from my Bishop and never to refuse any post of duty. So far, Father dear, I have kept the promise." *

That the new duties taxed heavily his ability and zeal may be inferred from the nature of the office itself in a large diocese with a flock made up of many nationalities and ever on the increase through immigration, with no corresponding increase of the clergy. Nevertheless, besides his official duties as secretary, he had, just on account of the dearth of clerical laborers, to lend a helping hand in various directions, wherever the needs were most pressing. Thus it came to pass that he busied himself particularly with the young men of Detroit and set all his energies to work to save them from temptation, to keep them attached to their Faith, true to themselves and to the high ideals of

* Letter of Feb. 2, 1882, Detroit.

Christian youth, by uniting them and providing them with means for intellectual improvement and honest relaxation. This care brought into being the *Catholic Club*, a society which prospered wonderfully as time went on; and which, even in its incipency, was held up as a pattern, after which kindred organizations were modeled throughout the States.

In 1884, after leading the negotiations that ended in the acquisition for a consideration of 24,000 dollars of a property of which the improvements represented an expended capital of 72,000 dollars, he was made chaplain of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, for whom Bishop Borgess had made purchase and who with their penitents made a congregation of thirty-four members, when they moved into it on November of that year.

That same year also, Father Maes had a prominent share in a mission preached in different sections of the city to the Flemings and Hollanders, whose presence in appreciable numbers in Detroit was just then beginning to be felt. He was associated in this good work with two more Flemish priests—Fathers T. Buyse¹⁰ and P. Hennaert¹¹ and two Hollanders—Fathers E. W. Hendrickx¹² and Soffers.¹³

¹⁰The Rev. Theophil Buyse was born at Rumbeke, June 7, 1832; he left for America in 1856; was ordained to the priesthood by Msgr. Lefevre Sept. 19, 1858; and died whilst on a visit in Milwaukee, April 2, 1895, after having served the Master first as pastor of Swan Creek and then for twenty-four years as pastor of Jackson where his remains await the call of the

*Tuba mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulchra regionum.*

¹¹The Rev. Peter Hennaert was born at Pervise. He was first a carpenter; then prepared himself at Thourout to become church organist and sexton; and finally he entered the Elementary Seminary of Roulers, combining the duties of a servant with those of a student. In 1846 Bishop Lefevre took him along to America, where he ordained him Sept. 25, 1847. He was a talented man and we may say a self-

The mission brought such rich and striking results that the founding of a Flemish church at Detroit followed as a matter of course after one of the missionaries had been prevailed upon to give up his well-organized parish of Center Line in order to devote himself to the task of grouping Flemings and Hollanders together under his leadership.

In spite of his manifold duties, Father Maes could not, during the years of his secretaryship, resist the inclination for historical research. Indeed the office itself naturally allured him to it by the ready access it gave him to the diocesan archives and historical documents. His first great venture in the historical field, a work of lasting value for the history of the Catholic Church in Kentucky, was the *Life of Father Charles Nerinckx*, Founder of the Sisters of Loretto and one of the pioneer missionaries and planters of the Faith in the United States, whose name is still a household word in Catholic homes throughout Kentucky and reverently spoken of everywhere in America.¹⁴ The book received great praise at the hands of the critics and won for its author an enduring name as a literateur and

taught man, whose learning and ability were appreciated beyond the confines of his diocese; for he was offered a bishopric thrice, besides being twice administrator of Detroit diocese and for a long series of years Bishop Lefevre's vicar-general. He died in Detroit Jan. 23, 1892.

¹³ The Rev. E. W. Hendrickx was born at Tilburg, Holland. After founding the parish for the Belgians and Hollanders in Detroit and presiding over it five years, he came to Idaho, worked there until the wear and tear of the years impelled him to seek quiet retirement as convent chaplain in the diocese of Oregon.

¹⁴ Father Soffers was born at Schiedam, where his brother was a well known architect.

¹⁵ Father Nerinckx was born at Herffelingen, Province of Brabant, 20 October 1761 and died in the States 12 August 1824. Two volumes of manuscript letters from this famous missionary are preserved in the Bollindists' Library, Brussels.

historiographer. Later writers on Kentucky have copiously referred to it and drawn from it.¹⁵

In his capacity as secretary to the Bishop of Detroit, Father Maes rendered meritorious service also by putting upon a business-like footing the seminary collections, in fact by an up-to-date organization of the diocesan administrative machinery. The neatness, despatch and method with which all affairs were transacted by the Detroit episcopal Secretary had been remarked by the Bishops at the outset of his official career, when he assisted as theologian at the Provincial Council held at Cincinnati, March, 5, 1882; and ever afterwards it was a source of great satisfaction to Bishop Borgess and his clergy.

All things, therefore, worked together to turn everybody's attention to the clever, learned, pious Detroit priest and to presage a wider field for the exercise of his talents and of his zeal. Several times his name had been universally spoken of whilst the appointments to vacant, or newly-formed, dioceses were pending and it was so again when the diocese of Covington, Kentucky, became orphaned through the death of its Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Toebbe, on May 2, 1884. This time the *vox populi* was also the *vox Dei*; for the following month of September the Consistory selected for the bereaved flock the Reverend Camillus Maes of Detroit. It may be said by the by that the late Pope Pius X was elevated to the See of Mantua in the same Consistory. *The Mandatum Apostolicum* which transmitted the choice of the Holy See to Father Maes bears date Oct. 1, 1884. He had not sought the honor conferred upon him—true to his motto neither to seek promotion nor to shirk duty—and he was not blind to the burden concomitant with the honor. May we again be permitted

¹⁵ See for ex. Chapt. XII of *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, by Webb, Louisville 1884: this entire chapter is acknowledged by the writer as having been taken bodily from Msgr. Maes's book.

to quote from one of the letters in which he bared his heart to Monsignor De Nève?

BISHOP-ELECT OF COVINGTON

"By the time you receive this letter you will very likely have learned the news which the cable brought here to my great surprise: I am appointed Bishop of Covington! I have learned to dread the episcopal dignity, dear Father, and were I to consult my peace of mind and my fears about eternal salvation, I would recoil from it. But the circumstances of the nomination, the unanimous verdict of friends and of unfriendly confrères, your own views on the matter as expressed to me very lately,—all tell me that I may do some good. Hence, if the news is confirmed, in God's Holy Name and with upright heart, I will accept, trusting to my feeble though sincere devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus to do some good to the priesthood, every member of which I have learned to love always, to pity often and never to condemn."¹⁶

Msgr. De Nève answered from Louvain, Oct. 14, 1884: "I may congratulate you with all my heart over your appointment to Covington. Whatever the burden of a mitre may be, I venture to predict that the Covington mitre will, after a short while, be from seven to eight tons lighter in weight than the Grand Rapids mitre would have been and no heavier than the secretaryship in Detroit."¹⁷

Meanwhile the Third National Council of the American Church had been convoked for November 1884. Father Maes, not yet consecrated, went to it as Bishop-elect and played a part at it that showed the trend of his mind. With telling arguments warmly set forth, he advocated the project of a Catholic University. Who knows but that

¹⁶ Detroit, Sept. 25, 1884.

¹⁷ From the allusion in the above we gather that Father Maes had been spoken of for the bishopric of Grand Rapids.

he had before his mind's eye at the time the Louvain Alma Mater and the benefits it was conferring upon his native land. Catholic higher education lay near to his heart always and he was delighted to break a lance in its favor before the assembled Fathers of the Council. They were not chary afterwards in the recognition of the merits won by the champion of the cause.

Ere the Bishop-elect could receive the episcopal consecration, a hard blow struck him through the premature death of his vicar-general, Father Brandts, whose help and long experience in the Diocese he had relied upon, to lighten the burden of his charge. This good priest is entitled to at least a passing mention in this narrative. He was born in Holland 4 Oct. 1828. He came over to America with the celebrated Father De Smet in 1854 and, going West, was raised to the sacerdotal dignity by Bishop Carrell of Covington. Bishop Toebbe appointed him his vicar-general in 1876 and, upon the shepherd's death, he became administrator of the diocese, in which capacity he took part with Bishop Maes in the deliberations of the National Catholic Council of Baltimore. The Bishop himself conducted his friend's funeral services in the Cathedral of Covington, in which city he died on 9 January 1885.

Having paid this last tribute of respect to good Father Brandts, the Bishop-elect repaired to Michigan to bid farewell to his long-cherished work and to his devoted friends there; then he traveled back to Cincinnati, where he arrived 23 January and was waited upon by a deputation of priests from Covington and Newport come officially to welcome the new Shepherd. Preceded by numerous carriages, he was driven in a coach-and-four, surrounded by a mounted guard of honor, to his episcopal city. In Covington, where his arrival was anxiously looked for, the people in festive array hailed with loud acclaim the great High Priest who came to them in the name of the Lord,

and escorted him through the brightly illuminated streets to his residence. The following Sunday, January 25th, the solemn ceremonies of consecration were carried on in regal splendor. On the morning a stately procession of seventy-six priests marched out of the Cathedral to bring the Prelate from his home to the church. Assisted by Bishop Borgess of Detroit and Bishop McCloskey of Louisville, the Archbishop of Cincinnati, Msgr. Elder, performed the consecration ceremonies, and Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland preached the sermon. The services, begun at ten o'clock, did not end until half-past two. They were followed by a banquet, and a parade of all the Catholic societies of Covington and surrounding country.

It will not be amiss to interpolate a pen sketch of the coat-of-arms chosen by the new church-dignitary; for in a coat-of-arms we may read the characteristics of will and temperament of the man who adopted it. The upper field, which is blue, is charged with a cross between a star and a lily; and the base, which is of gold, is charged with a heart in natural colors. On a scroll entwining the crozier below the escutcheon, we read the device: *Crux mihi dux*. This motto was the great principle that ruled the Bishop's actions and whole life.

The new Bishop's friends and acquaintances were proud and happy for the honor that had come to him and manifested their feelings by appropriate and telling gifts. The priests of the diocese to whose clerical body his virtues and zeal had during fifteen years been an ornament presented him with a crozier; well-wishers from the city of Detroit acknowledged their indebtedness to his leadership, fatherly interest and devoted friendship with the gift of a pectoral cross that bore the inscription: "Presented to the Rt. Rev. Camillus Maes by his friends in Detroit, January 22, 1885"; finally, his classmates in the seminary of Bruges remembered him with a goldplated silver chalice. This

precious souvenir, the recipient was pleased to bestow upon the Louvain American College, on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of its existence.

Once the enthronization and consecration ceremonies with all their éclat and the fatigues attending them were over, and nothing was left but the aftermath of duties and responsibilities that they introduced, His Lordship set about making himself acquainted with his extensive diocese. By July 24, he could write: "I have traveled over two thirds of my diocese and God willing, during the months of September and October I'll finish the last third."¹⁸

THE COVINGTON DIOCESE

The Diocese of Covington was established July 29 1853; its first bishop was an American born, George A. Carrell, S. J. He directed its destinies until his death 28 Sept. 1868. His successor, Augustus M. Toebbe, a German, born at Meppen, Hanover, ruled from January 1870 to May 2, 1884; he was followed by the subject of our sketch—a Belgian. Does not this succession of bishops representing three different nationalities remind us of the Catholicity of the Church in America, made up of immigrants from all nations under the sun and ruled over by men chosen from among the nations represented in the church membership, regardless of their origin, solely for their qualities as men and priests?

The area of the diocese was the same when Bishop Maes began to govern it as when it was first sliced off from Louisville. It then extended over 17,286 square miles and counted 8000 catholics with seven priests and ten churches. In 1885 there were some 43,000 Catholics scattered through that part of Kentucky lying east of the Kentucky River and the western limits of the counties of Carroll, Owen,

¹⁸ Letter to Rev. Sloose, pastor of Rumbeke, W. Flanders.

Franklin, Woodford, Jessamine, Garrard, Rock Castle, Laurel and Whitley. The increase in priests had proportionately been greater during the incumbency of the two preceding bishops than that of the faithful. There were fifty-five, four of whom were members of religious orders. Of churches there were twenty-five, besides fifty-two chapels, twenty-three stations, three orphanages and two hospitals.¹⁹

To measure the progress made during Bishop Maes's administration, it will suffice to point to the correspondent figures for the year preceding his death. In 1894 the Bishopric boasted seventy-four secular priests, eleven priests members of religious orders, 10,915 children attending Catholic schools, fifty-seven parishes, twenty-five missions with churches, nine chapels of religious institutions, 11,985 Catholic families, and 60,500 Catholics.

SILVER JUBILEES

During the long years of his episcopal career, Msgr. Maes knew by the side of days fraught with anguish, with trials and cares, days bright with the sunshine proceeding from grateful and appreciative hearts, from hearts clinging to the Church with filial devotion and glad always to manifest that devotion by honoring priests and bishops, living representative leaders of the great spiritual body, whose members they are proud to be. Of such days which stand out as beacon lights upon his life's course, we mean to signal especially two—the twenty-fifth anniversary day of his ordination and the twenty-fifth anniversary day of his episcopal consecration.

The silver jubilee of his priesthood the Bishop of Covington celebrated Dec. 19, 1893. It was a grand festive manifestation in which one archbishop, seven bishops and

¹⁹ *The Michigan Catholic*, Detroit, Sept., 1884.

a galaxy of priests participated. The Press of Cincinnati and of Covington devoted lengthy columns in praise of the life-work of the well-beloved prince of the Church. A German newspaper—the “*Kentucky Demokrat*”—published in Covington gave a full-page picture of the jubilarian with a chronogram expressive of a wish that in the designs of God’s Providence did alas! not find realization:

CaMILLo PaULo antIstItI quInqUe presBYterII LUstra
aUrea LargIatUr DeUs!

The celebration was so general in the city that the *Catholic Telegraph*, of Cincinnati, (Dec. 21, 1893) could write in very truth: “It was made manifest that Bishop Maes is in reality the beloved shepherd of the flock confided to his care.” A grand procession of seven bishops and some forty priests proceeded at 9:30 from the Cathedral to the episcopal residence thence to escort the jubilarian to the Church decked in festal array. Surrounded by his brethren in the episcopacy, by friends and the faithful members of his flock, the jubilarian sang a Solemn Pontifical Mass of Thanksgiving, at which Bishop Watterson of Columbus, Ohio, preached a soul-stirring sermon. At noon a banquet was partaken of and Father Brossart, vicar-general of the diocese, presented in the name of the clergy a one thousand-dollar purse. In the evening there was a public reception in the course of which the Lieutenant-Governor presented another purse, also of a thousand dollars, in the name of the laity.

Divine Providence kindly granted the celebration of another jubilee to Bishop Maes, namely that of episcopacy, of which he put off the public festivities until June 1910, to make them coincide with inauguration of the splendid front of the new cathedral. Again was evidenced how his flock revered and loved him; again was the rejoicing universal, even among the non-Catholics, who did not pretend

to remain behind their fellow-citizens in honoring the Catholic prelate. All the houses of the city were festooned in purple and white colors, set off by gay streamers of American bunting. Ten bishops, numerous abbots and prelates, seventy priests, had come from far and near to enhance the feast. It was a never-to-be-forgotten event. In the morning all these priests and church dignitaries met the Bishop at his residence and escorted him to the magnificently decorated cathedral. There he offered up a Solemn Pontifical Mass of Thanksgiving whereof the thrilling impression was enhanced by an appropriate sermon which the Right Rev. O'Donaghue of Louisville preached. At night the city witnessed a grand pageant of 7000 men marching through the principal streets and past the stand whereon the Bishop and his guests had taken their places. A display of fireworks interpreted the joyous feelings of the population and the presentation by the Mayor of a sum of 4000 dollars from the citizens and of another of 3500 dollars from the clergy was the outward manifestation of the people's and the priests' appreciation of their Bishop's work for the city and the Church in Kentucky.²⁰

Without going into the details of it we beg to mention another telling ceremony within the time of Bishop Maes's tenure of office; namely, the commemoration in 1903 of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the diocese, of which the city of Covington was also the chief witness and prime organizer.

BISHOP MAES AS BUILDER

Whoever attempts to write Bishop Maes's biography will fall short of his task, if he does not stop to consider his activity as a builder, which forms part and parcel of his whole sacerdotal life. The lessons on architecture which kind Providence permitted him to receive in his youth

²⁰ *The Enquirer*, Cincinnati, June 30, 1910.

stood him in good stead in all his works of material up-building. We have seen how as young pastor of Mount Clemens he erected a Catholic school there and how, a few years later, he constructed at Monroe, for the English-speaking Catholics, the Church of St. John the Baptist. His chief achievement, however, in the building line, one that will for all times to come connect his name with the city and the diocese of Covington, is without contest, the magnificent Covington cathedral. It was the dream of his episcopal career and before the end of his first year's incumbency, he had set his mind and heart upon honoring God with a temple that would proclaim aloud the glory of His sovereign majesty. With patient perseverance and with the firm will of one decided not to give up the fight short of victory, he wrought for the realization of his project and he died with the knowledge, that all but minor details of the undertaking were completed.

A work so gigantic in its scope as the Bishop had set before his mind's eye requires means, large means. He began with the gathering of those means very early, stoutly looking ahead into the distant future for their accumulation and their timely and meet employment. He presented the first subscription-list a year after ascending the episcopal throne; but years went by ere the hand could be laid to the actual work of building.

In golden letters should we like to write down the names of those whose liberal contributions made their shepherd's dream a reality. The principal single gifts were—one of fifty thousand dollars from Mr. James Walsh; one of twenty-five thousand dollars from his son, Mr. Michael Walsh, and in 1905, another from the same, of 100,000 dollars, for the completion of the cathedral front and of part of two steeples flanking it; one of 10,000 dollars from Mr. Peter O'Shaughnessy; and many donations of 1000 dollars.

The Bishop chose a Detroit architect to make the plans of the main structure; but the monumental facade was by a Covington technician. First ground for the building was not broken until May 1, 1894, and on 8 September 1895, the corner-stone was laid with all the splendor of this liturgical function. His Grace Archbishop Elder, of Cincinnati, and His Lordship Bishop Foley, of Detroit, were present at the ceremony, the latter being the orator of the day. On January 27, 1901, the edifice was solemnly dedicated. Fourteen bishops were present on that occasion and the concourse of people was enormous. At the Mass of Thanksgiving Bishop Spalding of Peoria preached the sermon. Up to that time 250,000 dollars had been spent on the construction, and during the four years following 50,000 dollars more added to the amount, and the end was not yet, although the first estimates did not go beyond the 250,000-dollar mark for the finished structure.

The Covington cathedral, as it stands to-day, is a splendid work of art, of pure Gothic, and modelled after Notre Dame church, Paris. The two towers of the facade are as yet unfinished and another fifty thousand dollars, according to the lowest estimates, would be required to finish them. The exterior which pleases the eyes and lifts the heart to the higher spheres towards which its ogival arcades and bold lofty lines point with speaking and thrilling effect, is not belied by the interior, whose stately grandeur is an exalted hymn of praise to the God made Man who dwells and is worshipped therein. Beautiful stained-glass windows, one of which, the second largest in the world, and all but two the work of Munich artists, tell the worshippers a story of faith and devotion just the way the Bishop wanted it to be told; for he himself directed the execution of the subject-themes represented. These themes are the Blessed Sacrament and the Virgin Mother of Him we adore in the Sacrament.

"Here one does not need a prayerbook: It is there in glass looking down upon the worshippers," once began Bishop Maes in an address to his people, as he fixed his glasses to his eyes and pointed to the many-colored talking windows. He might have pointed also to the mural decorations of the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament which, under his inspiration, were painted by Franz Duveneck, a Covington artist, and speak quite as effectively as the colored windows. They represent the Sacrifice of the New Law and of the Old in three groups, which afford to the eye a grand ensemble tersely pen-pictured by the Bishop in the Cincinnati *Telegraph* of January 15, 1904: "The dominant thought of the whole conception is Jesus Christ, the God-man, life and center of the whole created world, ever atoning for the sins of men, that they may have life abundantly."

Covington, yes, America is proud of this magnificent cathedral, to which the late Bishop had hoped to crown, by the completion of the steeples, in 1916. That hope was scattered by the grim destroyer—death. The main work, however, was finished and finished without mortgage on the future, without encumbrance upon the successor, who, with hands perfectly free, could go on, at once putting the finishing strokes to an undertaking of which the boldness, when in its first stages of execution, appeared rashness, especially in the light of the relatively small Catholic population with whose free donations it had to be carried on, of the prejudices to be conquered, of the opposition to be won over. When first ground for the building was broken in 1884, Covington had scarcely forty thousand inhabitants, with a proportion of Catholics rather below the average, among whom love and appreciation for Christian art was no more developed than elsewhere in the United States at that epoch. They had but few specimens to show of Catholic churches built on classical architectural

lines. Bishop Maes actually played the part of a pioneer in that field. Wherefore has his name been heralded throughout the country together with the names of the foremost cathedral and church builders of recent years. Truly did the "*Record*", of Louisville write, Jan. 28, 1904:

"Christian architecture in Kentucky finds its highest expression and development in the cathedral of Covington dedicated under the title of Mary. It is, or in other words, it will be, when completed, the most classic, monumental, spacious and superb ecclesiastical edifice in our state."

We might close the chapter of Bishop Maes's building activity with the construction of the Cathedral; but for the sake of being complete, we will add that he undertook another grand work in 1912—the erection of a new hospital for Covington-St. Elisabeth's. The building was estimated to cost 350,000 dollars, of which 110,000 dollars were collected at the first appeal to the citizens. It is now built and in charge of the Franciscan Sisters of Aix-la-Chapelle.

EUCCHARISTIC CONGRESS

Bishop Maes played a prominent part in all the Eucharistic Congresses held in the United States and through them he did much for the extension of the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. His influence in that direction was felt throughout the length and breadth of the land and the fruits borne of that influence cannot be adequately estimated or prized. His intense love for the Eucharistic Lord, he manifested incessantly by his telling share in every eucharistic movement—in the promotion of frequent Communion, of public veneration of the Blessed Sacrament, of the Priests' Eucharistic League, of the Eucharistic Congress, etc.

Of the Priests' Eucharistic League, he was for years the Protector in the United States, where the earliest

statistics of membership gave forty-five members for all the dioceses of the country. This was shortly after 1887, the year in which Father Eymard founded the League and had it canonically erected in Rome. At first it stood in America under the direction of the Paris Board; but in 1891, it was governed by its own board set up in that year at St. Meinrad's Abbey, Indiana. As the membership increased rapidly from that time on, diocesan directors were appointed wherever warranted. In Dec. 1893 the States numbered 250 members; July 5th, 1894, they were credited with 360 out of 29310 for the whole world; and in 1914 they boasted 10,443. This success was greatly attributable to the exertions of the Bishop of Covington, who led also in the launching of the eucharistic conferences and congresses to which the League was sponsor. The latter have of late years developed into grand manifestations of love and reverence towards the Blessed Sacrament and have exercised an untold influence over the hearts and minds of hundreds of thousands of Catholics and Protestants as well.

The holding of a general Eucharistic Congress for priests members of the League, which had long been a day-dream of the Apostle of greater devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in America, found, in spite of ever cropping up difficulties, realization at last, through the Bishop's fine diplomacy, which smoothed away one opposition, one ruggedness after the other, and emboldened him to invite a few members to meet him at Covington March 7, 1894. Five, one bishop among them, answered the invitation, and presided over by their host, they held the meeting at which it was decided to assemble all the priests adorers of the Eucharistic League at Notre Dame, Indiana, Aug. 7th and 8th. A convocation was sent to them for those days and brought together under the leadership of the Bishop of Covington a gathering of six bishops, four abbots, and

some 175 priests, who discussed ways and means for the promotion of their society, which meant promotion of the interests of the adorable Sacrament of the Altar. One practical result of their discussions was the agreement to publish a special English periodical for the benefit of the members of the League, who up to that time had had to content themselves with either a French or a German paper printed in Europe. This American Eucharistic publication became a reality under the title of *Emmanuel*, shortly after the convention adjourned. Other results were the decision to hold the thereupon following year a Eucharistic congress for priests, and the nomination of Bishop Maes as Permanent President of the Eucharistic Congress.²¹

Although the meeting of Notre Dame was of fair proportions, it had not the wide scope of a congress representative of the membership of the League from all states; and, therefore, we may call the meeting held at Washington, Oct. 2 and 3, 1895, the first general Eucharistic Congress of the United States. Monsignor Maes, who had been a member of the Committee that prepared it, was also its zealous and efficient chairman. The title of Permanent President of Eucharistic Congresses in the United States and of Director of the Eucharistic League was solemnly renewed to him and subsequently officially recognized and confirmed by the House of Archbishops. Not fewer than nine archbishops, twelve bishops and 300 priests convened at Washington. Archbishop Satolli, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, graced the meeting with his presence and brought the greetings and encouragement of Pope Leo XIII. From that time on Eucharistic congresses succeeded each other in the United States uninterruptedly, being held at Philadelphia, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cincin-

²¹ See *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Nov. 1895, entirely devoted the Eucharistic League and its first convention.

nati, etc. They contributed to strengthen and extend the Faith and gave a mighty impulsion to the veneration towards the Blessed Sacrament. There is no need to enter into the details of these Congresses; but we cannot refrain from making special mention of the third one, which was held in New York City from 27 to 29 September 1904.

In the letter of invitation which Bishop Maes sent to his colleagues on May 21 of that same year, the object of the gathering was thus set forth:

“To have our Catholics value the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and avail themselves of the privilege of assisting at it daily; to make them realize the permanent presence of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament of His love, and bring them to visit Him in the Tabernacle more assiduously; to make them experience the blessings of spiritual life by the frequent reception of the Body and Blood, without the eating and drinking of which they can have no life in time—such are the aims of the Bishops and Priests who are active in the furtherance of these congresses.”

This appeal was heard and the New York Congress was a great event in the Catholic Church History of the United States. Monsignor presided over the deliberations and enjoyed the privilege of opening the proceedings of the second day with the singing of the Pontifical High Mass. At one of the sessions he appointed a committee to draw up resolutions denouncing the French Government for its anti-religious laws and tendering to the Holy Father “a reverential recognition and profound admiration for his apostolic stand in favor of true human liberty and essential human rights as against the behests and threats of an infidel faction that has unfortunately possessed itself of the government of a once great Catholic nation.”

Grandly magnificent and glorious was this third Eucharistic meeting and so prominent was the part played in it by our alumnus, that the American papers of the day bestowed

upon him quite appropriately the title of Father of the Third Eucharistic Congress. At Pittsburg we see Bishop Maes presiding over the Congress that met there 15, 16, 17 October 1907 and we listen to him speaking among other subjects on Daily Communion. His program was clear, succinct, pointed:

"The days of frequent communion are upon us. Neglect of it has ruined France. Reverence no longer excludes loving familiarity. The more we love, the more we wish to see the object of our love. We priests will work until our people become frequent daily communicants. The Pope has directed us to do so. No objection can hold against the expressed will of the Representative of Christ."²²

Also at the great World Eucharistic Congress, mighty pageants of Faith and Religion, whose echoes still tingle in our ears, the Bishop came forward as a champion of Eucharistic devotion. In 1902 he was present at the Congress of Namur and delivered the opening address; in 1907 he was at Metz, speaking frequently in the deliberative sessions; he was at Montreal in 1910 and had much to do with its surpassingly great manifestation in honor of Jesus among us as in the days of His flesh. As President of the Eucharistic Congresses in the United States and Protector of the Eucharistic League, he, on May 10, sent a strong appeal to the thousands of priests members of the League. It was printed in *Emmanuel*, reprinted in the Catholic papers, copied throughout the land and generally acted upon, as results proved. In September 1912 he was also at Vienna, taking part in that year's glorious Eucharistic demonstration, which amazed the world by its might and magnificence. A month previously he had shared in the deliberations and devotional exercises of the re-

²² *Emmanuel*, Nov. 1907, pp. 271-2.

gional congress of the since fated Ypres. Wherever possible he was in the van in promoting the honor due to the Blessed Sacrament. The desire to do so prompted:—the conception of the soul-inspiring frescoes in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in his cathedral; the foundation of the Kentucky Tabernacle Society; whose headquarters are at the Academy of Notre Dame of Providence, Newport; the insistence with which he ever came back in his pastorals, in numerous articles of the periodical press, in the retreats that he preached to priests and seminarians, to the point that Jesus in the Tabernacle must be the focus of the spiritual life.

A significant case in point, which along with many others goes to prove that Bishop Maes made the spreading of the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament a life task, is a discourse he had read by Father Schreiber, pastor of St. Boniface's, Detroit, at the Fourth General Assembly of the Michigan German Catholics held at Detroit, Sept. 1895. In this paper he recalled in the striking, clear language quite his own, the duties Catholics owe to the Blessed Sacrament.

All hail to Thee, Reverend High Priest, for the priceless services thou didst render to a cause noble before others, the cause of the voluntary captive of our churches!

BISHOP MAES AND HIGHER EDUCATION

We now turn to Bishop Maes's activity in the field of education. Far-seeing as he was, knowing that light must shine from above, he keenly felt the capital importance of higher education for the Catholic Church in America: it was a subject of constant care and attention with him. We have seen how, even before his episcopal consecration, he pleaded the cause of the Catholic University of Washington at the Council of Baltimore, by the choice of his brethren in the Episcopacy, who thereby appreciated his ability and zeal, he was directly and actively connected with it from

the very outset in 1887 as secretary and member of the Board of Trustees and he remained so connected for over twenty years. But even previously to that, he acted as a delegate of the American Bishops to Europe, to secure able teachers for the institution. Upon this mission he visited, without attaining the object he had come for, however, three scholars of great repute: Louis Pastor, the Historian, who was at the time professor at Innsbruck and whom he invited to accept the Chair of History at the contemplated American University; Bickel, at the time teaching also at Innsbruck and later at Vienna, to whom he offered the Chair of Hermeneutics and Oriental Languages; and Jungmann, professor at Louvain, whom he had wished to secure for lectures on Dogmatic Theology.

Whilst furthering the interests of the Washington University, Bishop Maes did not forget the claims the American College of Louvain had on his attention. He was an alumnus and felt grateful for what he owed the beloved Alma Mater; he knew the condition of the Church in America, knew how sacerdotal vocations there fell short of the needs and was fully conscious of the benefits for American youths of a course of study in a European seminary. Never, therefore, did he hesitate to set forth the advantages of the American College, when circumstances were such as to call for his advocacy of the institution. In serving the College he was convinced he served the Church as well. Some of the best work for the Americanum he did through his membership of the Board of Bishops of the Louvain College, to which he was appointed at the Council of Baltimore in 1884 together with Archbishop Janssens of New Orleans, then still Bishop of Natchez, and Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco. When Archbishop Janssens died, Bishop Maes succeeded him as President of said Board and Bishop John L. Spalding became its third member. He did not look upon that

presidency as a mere honor, but as a real obligation: it prompted him upon several occasions to take active personal steps in order to further the welfare and progress of the institution. Thus at times he came to its rescue with pecuniary gifts and by bestowing the weight of his prestige and influence to appeals for prompting pecuniary contributions from its alumni. His oft-repeated generous assistance recalls the favors of his namesake Canon Maes of Bruges in the early days of the College.²²

In 1897 the President of the College Board came to Louvain to propose the connexion of the College, for the sake of increasing its efficacy, with the University. To that end he entered into conference with the Belgian Bishops and succeeded in having the connexion become a reality in 1898. Again he it was who secured by his energetic interference the introduction of the two years' course of philosophy. He pleaded for that improvement in 1904 and in 1906 it was a settled fact.

The Belgian Government having in 1912 granted a legal status to the two endowed Universities of Brussels and Louvain, Bishop Maes gave his full approval to the transfer of all the College real estate and buildings to the Corporation Sole of the University—a good business transaction; for the institution is thereby exempt from paying the high inheritance taxes to which it was subject under the old régime of ownership by private individuals. At the time of Msgr. De Nève's demise, when the buildings were of small value comparatively to what they are now and the tax rate low, the taxes paid ran up to some eleven thousand francs.

The Bishop's appreciation of the importance of the Col-

²² J. Bittremieux: *Belgen in Amerika*, p. 311, in *Annales de la Société d'Emulation pour l'étude de l'Histoire*. Bruges, Année 1909; and J. Van Der Heyden: *History of the Louvain American College*, passim, Ceuterick, Louvain, 1909.

lege and the attachment he bore to it are strikingly illustrated in the fact that he gave his consent, after Msgr. De Nève's retirement in 1891, to assume its rectorship. The Propaganda had given its approval and the coming to Louvain was assured, when protests arose from an unexpected quarter—from the Belgian Bishops. They considered it impolitic to have a bishop at the head of a filial institution of the University, whilst the head of the University was but a Monsignor.

When, in 1907, the American College celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, Bishop Maes with Bishops Van der Vyver, Fox and Meerschaert reckoned it an honor to assist at the great family feast then held and it was His Lordship of Covington who sang the Solemn Pontifical Mass of Thanksgiving. He also sent Holy Orders to the students of that year, after having previously preached the usual spiritual exercises to them. It was his way, and a very exemplary one, to give encouragement to higher education.²⁴

We will close the subject of higher education with the mention that Monsignor Maes was one of the projectors of the monumenal work undertaken and carried to completion by American Catholics with the collaboration of Catholic scholars all over the world—of *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.

MONSIGNOR MAES AND THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS THE FARIBAULT PLAN

But if Monsignor Maes had the interests of higher education at heart, he was no less devoted to the cause of the parochial schools. The school question is a burning one everywhere nowadays, and in the United States it is a question of life and death for Catholics and their Faith.

²⁴ J. Van Der Heyden: *The Louvain American College*, passim.

At one time they contended with difficulties that came very near being fatal and if they came out of the ordeal unscratched, with a new lease of life and stronger than ever, the Bishop of Covington is entitled to a share of the credit for the victory. The influence of his work and word in this field was widely felt. All his life long his voice rang like the bugle call to battle in favor of the erection of private schools alongside of the state-paid anti-religious schools. Costs and hindrances were no consideration in his mind where Christian education was at stake. In the pulpit, in pastoral letters, in public gatherings, in private meetings of the Bishops, in the press, everywhere he led the crusade in defense of the Catholic schools. He was never so happy and pleased as when he could act at the blessing of a new school, or could be present at a feast of school children; for it gave him an opportunity to encourage the cause which he regarded as noble beyond all calculation. A parish without a school looked to him a contradiction, a nonsense.

In 1888 Bishop Maes repaired to the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Divine Providence of St. Jean de Bassel, Lorraine, to secure help for the schools of his diocese. His mission was a success; for in 1889 three Sisters went to Newport, near Covington, founded the Convent of Mount St. Martin, now Provincial house, Novitiate and Scholasticate for the United States. They opened their school there with three pupils and in 1912 they had nearly four hundred, without counting those at a parochial school at Newport. From Mount St. Martin they have radiated to various dioceses of the United States and now conduct three academies, one infant asylum, four homes for French governesses and servant girls, twenty-four parochial schools, and they have charge of the household of the archiepiscopal residence and of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; of St. Charles College, Catonsville, Md., and of the Catholic University. Some three hundred Sisters and

novices is the membership of the Community at this writing. Truly, Bishop Maes did a great good work in bringing these fervent religious to his diocese; he shared in their merits, for he led their efforts to give the best of their lives and of their talents in the rearing of youth for the stern duties whose fulfillment leads to the eternal repose of Heaven.

In connexion with the favor shown by Bishop Maes to Catholic education in all its degrees, it is worth while to put in evidence the part he played in the contest that waged for a time around the parochial schools. The history of that struggle has not, as far as we know, been fully written. Now that the din of battle is no longer heard, may we be pardoned for writing what we learned on the subject from good and reliable sources. But let us first state briefly how matters stood when the fight began and how it began.

In the wake of the Third National Council of Baltimore Catholic schools sprung up everywhere on the initiative of the pastors and in compliance with the decrees of the Council. The erection and maintenance of these schools laid a heavy burden upon the Catholic people, who, after paying the State-school taxes, had still to pay for their own private schools. Aiming at lightening that burden, Archbishop Ireland, in the diocese of St. Paul, entered into a contract with the State School Boards of Faribault and of Stillwater for the further maintenance by the Boards of two hitherto Catholic schools and presided over by Religious. According to the clauses of the contract, the Sisters, who were returned as teachers, must accept the State program and follow it in all its particulars; they were not to teach religion during the regular school hours, but, outside of these, they might devote as much time to the teaching of religion as they saw fit. The plan pleased neither Catholics and, after a very short time of trial, it

was given up at both the above-named towns; but it still works in districts where the parents are exclusively, or almost exclusively, members of the Church. The opposition to the compact gave rise to heated discussions not in Minnesota only, but all over the States. Rome was appealed to and decided in favor of Archbishop Ireland; but did not thereby allay the storm or settle the question. The Archbishops meeting at New York on Nov. 16, 1892, heard a set of fourteen propositions read to them by Archbishop Satolli in the name of Pope Leo XIII. They all concerned the school question. Monsignor de T'Serclaes, in his comprehensive work *Le Pape Léon XIII* writes and comments at length on them.

Briefly stated the propositions meant neither more nor less than that in districts where there were no Catholic schools or where they did not come up to the standard requirements, the Catholic children might attend the public schools without let nor hindrance, provided however that all dangers for the Faith and morals of the children be eliminated. One of the articles, the VIII, expressed the wish that an understanding be arrived at between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities for the maintenance of State schools that would be acceptable to all. Such was the theory; but what of the practical application? The Archbishops who heard them read were far from agreeing with them. Thus the Archbishop of Cincinnati upon reaching home, called a meeting of the Bishops of his province and communicated to them the news that he brought from New York. Everybody was startled and the propositions were on the spot unanimously voted down. Bishop Maes moved to write at once to the Pope for the sake of calling attention to the practical side of the question, which was sure to bring about the utter ruin of the Catholic schools within a short time, because the Catholics' refusal of further support of them was inevitable. The motion, carried without

delay. Leo XIII lent a favorable ear to the letter of the Bishops from the Cincinnati Province; for he soon after addressed to each Bishop in the United States a request for a personal expression of opinion on the subject. The answers were so emphatic and concordant, that the fourteen propositions remained a dead letter and were soon all but forgotten. The parochial schools went on with their task as before, increasing, multiplying, perfecting their standards, working themselves up to a par with the public schools and in many instances succeeding in surpassing them. The part played by Bishop Maes to save them from the shoals upon which they threatened to founder through the untimely publication of the XIV propositions warranted the words of "*The Catholic Telegraph*", June 29, 1910: "Also has his wisdom, illuminated from above, safeguarded the Catholic schools," and Monsignor de Becker was right when he wrote: "When the true history of the crisis which came within an inch of compromising forever the magnificent efflorescence of Catholic schools in the United States will be written, a just and shining homage will be paid to the enlightened zeal and pastoral energy displayed by the Bishop of Covington on that memorable occasion." ²⁶

THE CATHOLIC EXTENSION SOCIETY—THE FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

Essentially a missionary, the late Bishop of Covington gave from the very beginning an enthusiastic support to Father Kelley's *Extension Society*: he was one of its Board of Governors; he favored it with all his might; lent without stint a helping hand to all its numerous and beneficent undertakings for the diffusion of Catholic teaching in the United States and its dependencies; stood by it in weal and woe; upheld it; commended it; spread it.

²⁶ *The American College Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, p. 5.

Likewise the *Federation of Catholic Societies* recognized in Bishop Maes, who was one of its Directors, a leader always alive to all the interests which the Federation took in hand.

MISSIONS TO NON-CATHOLICS

A man, priest and bishop concerned about the rights and the primordial welfare—the moral and spiritual—of the members of his Church, could not be indifferent to the happiness here below and hereafter of those not to the manor born. Oh no! his great big heart went out to them and particularly to the most forsaken ones of those not of the one fold and the one shepherd. In his diocese they were the dwellers of the mountain districts, known for their roughness, their spirit of independence, their chafing at all restraint. We have the following pithy and clear tenet: "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth". Bishop Maes felt himself to be indebted also to these uncouth children of nature; he felt it to be incumbent upon him to do what he might in order to soften the roughness of their ways by the meek teaching of the Gospel. The first mission he sent them was small—three priests, who, at the cost of sacrifices as yet untold, opened the way, sowed the seed, watered and tended the tender young shoots for a short time and when they were beginning to see the ripening of the fruit, repeated visits of the fell destroyer to the diocesan clergy compelled them to leave their newly-planted vineyard in the mountains for the organized parishes of the plains, lest the children of the Faith should be neglected and should lose the Divine gift. The temporarily deserted ones were later on provided for in another way. According to a pastoral letter of 27 December 1905, the Bishop founded at Richmond, Kentucky, an *Evangelists' Home* for diocesan missionaries, whose principal duty was the instruction of non-Catholics. During six months of the year,

their field of operation was the mountain counties of Central Kentucky; and the winter months, in which work in the mountains is rendered practically impossible by the severity of the weather and the lack of practicable roads, were consecrated to the preaching of missions, especially to non-Catholics, in the diocese at large, at the invitation of the local pastors from whom they accepted no other compensation but their kind hospitality.

Bishop Maes's concern for the conversion to the Faith of non-Catholics made him of course prize quite highly the work of the *Apostolic Union*, of the Paulist Fathers; hence we see him preside in April 1904 over the Conference of the Missionaries to non-Catholics. The occasion suggested to him the following glowing lines addressed to Louvain: "I am presiding here over the conference of the missionaries to non-Catholics under the auspices of the Apostolate Union of the Paulist Fathers. It would do your heart good to meet these earnest, self-sacrificing, laborious priests, some of whom without a roof to shelter their heads, travel all through their vast field in the South, preaching, teaching, lecturing, in halls, in shacks, in schoolhouses, wherever they can get an audience and a hearing to enlighten those who sit in the shadow of death. I deem it the honor of my life to have been called upon to preside at their deliberations and I wish I were one of them!"

In 1910, the discovery of coal in the mountain fastnesses of Kentucky laid new cares upon the devoted shepherd; for such discoveries, followed immediately by exploitation, generally allure into the country people from various lands and climes, whose spiritual wants raise complicated and unusual problems. Poles, Italians, Slavs, flocked into Kentucky with the opening up of the mines and they called for priests of their respective nationalities to attend to their higher needs. An English company, before beginning operations in the the eastern districts of the diocese, applied

to the Bishop for pastors to look after the men they intended to settle there and who were to be Poles and Slavs exclusively. This prompted him to write to Monsignor de Becker July 1910:

"An English company is opening mines in one of the eastern counties of the diocese and they announce their intention of employing Catholic Poles and Slavs only; have you a seminarian of that nationality who will be ready for ordination next year?"

PASTORAL LETTERS

Bishop Maes's Pastoral Letters were exceedingly practical, clear cut and to the point. In "*The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States*", Maurice F. Egan wrote: "The Pastoral Letters of Bishop Maes make a library of edification and instruction in themselves. He has the art of saying the right thing at the right time and of never saying too much." Among others, his Pastorals on the observance of the Sunday rest, (Oct. 1900) on the Jubilee of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, (Sept. 1904) on the Centenary of George Washington, on the Sacredness of Matrimony, were held up by the Catholic Press as models of the kind and were universally praised.

RUMORS OF PROMOTION

Several times there were rumors abroad that Monsignor Maes would leave the Diocese. Once, as we have had occasion to say, he was on the point of parting with it to become Rector of the American College of Louvain. Then, after the death of Archbishop Janssens, of New Orleans, June 10, 1897, it was universally believed that he would go to New Orleans as archbishop. If he did not go, it was, as was whispered about, for diplomatic reasons. Felix Faure, President of the French Republic, thought that the See of New Orleans, for years the appanage of French

prelates, ought to be filled by an archbishop of French birth or ancestry. The Quai d'Orsay worked in that sense at the Vatican and having found a hearing with Leo XIII, Bishop Chapelle became Archbishop Janssens' successor, 1 December 1897.

Finally after Archbishop Elder's death, 31 Oct. 1907, Bishop Maes's appointment to the see of Cincinnati seemed a foregone conclusion. On the terna sent by the Bishops of the Province to Rome, he occupied the first place; yet he was not chosen, because the Holy See opined that since times and local circumstances have to be reckoned with in the choice of Bishops, the nationality of a candidate in a country of many nationalities is also an important consideration: wherefore it found it preferable to place a prelate of German ancestry at the head of the vacant Archbishopric of Cincinnati and it selected the Rt. Rev. Henry Moeller, then Bishop of Columbus.

BISHOP MAES'S BIBLIOGRAPHY

More than anything else the writings of a man show his trend of mind, his ideals, his heart's affections, his worth, his influence over other minds and hearts. Therefore do we append to this biographical sketch a list of the principal literary contributions of the Kentucky Prelate. Incomplete though it be, the list speaks loudly enough and confirms *The Catholic Telegraph's* judgment: "Bishop Maes is not an ordinary churchman. A cultured gentleman, he exercises a refining influence in the community which is favored by his residence. As a scholar, he has made himself felt, unostentatiously, though none the less effectually, not only in his own diocese, but also in the wider Catholic educational circles of his country."

It will be interesting to know that the man who exercised the greatest influence upon the literary work of Bishop Maes, was the Flemish poet, Guido Gezelle. It was

in the first years of the existence of the Flemish periodical *Rond den Heerd*; Msgr. Maes was then student in the Seminary of Bruges and Guido Gazelle was assistant at St. Walburga's in the same city. From the lowly dwelling of the little known and still less appreciated curate went out a real power which attracted and held spellbound a chosen few young seminarians, of whom was Camillus Maes. There they found thrilling enthusiasm for the nobler productions of the mind and were taught to listen, to enquire, to think, to write. "*Rond den Heerd*" was a school with a master without commission to teach who taught as effectually as the best and he taught young Maes the power of the pen in the promotion of God's cause and the welfare of souls.

To *Rond den Heerd* Bishop Maes contributed:

1. *Brieven uit Mount Clemens, Michigan, V. S. A.*, Vol. V, 1870, passim; Vol. VI, 1871, passim.
2. *Naar Amerika*: An account of his journey to the States from Courtrai, where he left April 16, 1869, until he set foot upon American soil, May 9, 1869. Vol. VIII, 1873, passim.
3. *Brand in de Amerikaansche Sparreboschen*: Vol. VIII, pp. 179-181.
4. *Vlaamsche Huisgezinnen op de Gier-eilanden*: Vol. VIII.
5. *Amerikaansche Legende van de Scheppinge*: Vol. IX, 1874.
6. *Godeeloozen*: Vol. IX. (a poem)
7. *Amerikaansche Legende: Onsterfelykheid der ziele*: Vol. X, 1875.
8. *Eerste Zendelingen in Amerika*: Vol. X; *Belgische Zendelingen in Amerika, Pater Ludovicus Hennepin, O. S. F.* (1650-1701), *ibid.* *Petrus Antonius Malou* (1753-1827) *ibid.* passim.

9. *Brieven: Michigan in Amerika, uit Monroe, Michigan*: Vol. X (1875) and Vol. XI (1876), *passim*.
10. *Het Borstkruis van den Amerikaanschen Kardinaal*: Vol. X (1875).
11. *De Legende van den Schellevisch; een Kattelegende*: Vol. X.
12. *Suikerriet*: Vol. XI.

TO THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

13. *The First Eucharistic Congress to be Held in America*: Vol. XI, pp. 342-347. This article is an appeal to American priests, in preparation for the first eucharistic congress.
14. *Education of our Clerical Students*: Vol. XIV, pp. 204-212. A review of the prescriptions of the Council of Trent anent the education of priests.
15. *Preparatory Seminaries for Clerical Students*: Vol. XIV, 312-321. This is a pleading for "mixed colleges"; it contains many practical hints, facts and data on the origin and the organization of the *Petits* and the *Grands Séminaires*.
16. *The Theological Seminary*: *ibid.*, pp. 435-445. This contribution furnishes suggestions for the conduct of a seminary.
17. *Altar Breads and Wheaten Flour*: Vol. XXXV, pp. 579-594. The adulteration of the flour destined for sacramental purposes is herein viewed and means to secure unadulterated flour are proposed.
18. *The Rev. John Francis Rivet, Missionary Priest at Fort Vincennes, India*. (1795-1804), Vol. XXXV, pp. 33-51 and 113-124.
19. Translation of the article: *Decision of the Holy Office on the "Comma Johanneum"* by Minsignor Lamy, professor at the University of Louvain: Vol. XVII, pp. 448-483.

TO THE CATHOLIC WORLD:

20. *Hendrick Conscience*—A study which made the Flemish novelist known and appreciated in the United States.
21. *The Symbolism of Shoes*—A study on the spiritual signification of shoes in Holy Writ.

TO HISTORICAL RESEARCHES, N. Y.

22. *History of Monroe, Michigan*. This historical paper begun at the time of Father Maes's selection for the secretaryship of the Detroit Diocese was never finished.

TO EMMANUEL:

23. *Eucharistic Towers*. Two articles appeared on that subject in the periodical, both illustrated. "*Emmanuel*", a monthly magazine and the official organ of "*The Priests' Eucharistic League*", was founded by Bishop Maes and edited by him from 1895-1903. Since the latter date it has been edited by the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament, N. Y.

TO THE NEW CATHEDRAL CHIMES:

24. *The New Cathedral*: Vol., May 1892. *The New Cathedral Chimes* was founded by Bishop Maes as an aid for the construction of the Covington Cathedral. The above article was written for its maiden numbers which bears date May 2, 1892.

TO THE NEW YORK ILLUSTRATED JOURNAL:

25. *Louise Lateau*. This paper was published with an illustration of Louise Lateau's house at Bois d'Haine, under Maurice Francis Egan's editorship of the Magazine, New York, 1879.
26. During the secretaryship at Detroit, Bishop Maes was a frequent contributor to the *Children's Magazine*.

27. In January 1912, he founded at Covington *The Christian Year*, weekly paper of general information and the organ of the Diocese of Covington.

TO CALENDAR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN BERCHEMANS:

28. *Dedictory Sermon at the Blessing of the Church of St. John Berchmans.* Feb. 1908.
29. The Pastoral Letters of Bishop Maes from quite a collection.
30. *La Visite Episcopale faite à Louise Lateau par Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Gaspar Henri Borgess, évêque de Détroit, le 20 Juillet 1877, publiée par S. G. Monseigneur Camille Paul Maes, évêque de Covington, Kentucky* (in 8, pp. 24) Louvain, Imprimerie "Nova et Vetera", 1913.
31. *Forbain Janson en Amérique.* This is a manuscript of some hundred pages on the Bishop of Metz banished from France by Louis Philippe.
32. In 1901 Bishop Maes published in pamphlet form at Monroe, Michigan, the Funeral sermon which he preached in the chapel of the Sisters Servants of Mary, Monroe, at the Obsequies of his friend Msgr. Edward Joos, Vicar General of the Detroit Diocese. (19 pp. in 8).
33. The most extensive literary work we owe to Bishop Maes is the *Life of the Reverend Charles Nerinckx*. (635 pp. 80). It was published in Cincinnati in 1880 and has been spoken of at length in this biographical sketch of a countryman of Father Nerinckx, who continued in Kentucky an apostolic work that earned for the latter the title of S. Paul of Kentucky.

TO THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW :

34. *Flemish Franciscan Missionaries in North America*
(1673-1738).

Such was the man who presided over the destinies of the Diocese of Covington for thirty years, departing this life for the eternal repose of Heaven the 11th of May 1915. Free-hearted and open-handed all through life, Monsignor Maes's death reflected his pilgrimage here below. He left no earthy treasures besides a well-stocked scientific library, which he bequeathed to the Catholic University of Washington, and 2500 dollars, of which he bestowed 2000 upon St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Covington, Ky., 300 upon St. Joseph's Orphanage, Cold Springs, and 200 upon St. John's Orphanage, Covington.

His last inanimate remains lie buried side by side with those of his two predecessors amid the departed ones of his Covington flock, which he loved so well and served so faithfully and with whom his name and his deeds will ever be held in grateful veneration.

J. BITTREMIEUX, D. D.

J. VAN DER HEYDEN.

WORK OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN THE UNITED STATES, HARTFORD, 1851-1872—PROVIDENCE DIOCESE, 1872-1921

IN 1851, the first invitation came for the work of the Sisters of Mercy in the New England States. Bishop Bernard J. O'Reilly of the Diocese of Hartford¹ requested a foundation of Sisters with the consent of Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburg. The new opening was to be made in the city of Providence, Rhode Island, then the centre in New England of the anti-Catholic strife, familiarly known as Knownothingism.

Mother Francis Xavier Warde was wisely chosen to direct this new and momentous undertaking. With her Sister companions, Sister M. Camillus O'Neal, Sister M. Josephine Lombard, Sister M. Joanna Fogerty, and Rev. James O'Connor, the Bishop's brother, as protector, Mother Francis Xavier Warde left Pittsburg by stage coach on the evening of March 6, Ash Wednesday, 1851. The route was by way of Harrisburg, through Lancaster to Philadelphia, then on by way of New York. The travelers arrived in Providence, Rhode Island, on the evening of March 11, after five days spent in the coach and wayside inns and the probable stop-over to hear Mass on Sunday at Philadelphia.

¹ The Diocese of Hartford, established by Pope Gregory XVI, September 18, 1843 embraced at the time of erection the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and a portion of south-eastern Massachusetts. The Catholic population of Hartford numbered 600 adults while Providence had 2000 Catholics. In consequence the first Bishop, William Tyler fixed the episcopal residence at Providence. His two immediate successors also, Bishop Bernard O'Reilly and F. P. McFarland continued to live at Providence until the diocese was divided in 1872, when Providence was made a distinct episcopal see under its first bishop, Thomas F. Hendricken.

A poor dwelling, scantily furnished, awaited the little band of Missionary Sisters on High Street. Room capacity was limited, in consequence, no provision had been made for a chapel; however a temporary altar was soon in position and on the next morning, March 12, the Sisters had the happiness of hearing Mass and receiving Holy Communion in their first Convent-home in New England. Their souls, strengthened by the Divine Sacrament, and consoled by the Real Presence in their midst, the Sisters went about with renewed courage to make their work effective in this new field of endeavor.

The first work of the Sisters was the organization of the Cathedral Sunday School in the basement of the Cathedral, Saints Peter and Paul. This took in the children of the different city-parishes. In a short time, however, the number so increased as to render the opening of separate Sunday Schools in the different parishes imperative. Classes in Christian Doctrine were also organized at the Convent for those who had not the opportunity early in life for adequate instruction and preparation for the Sacraments.

Toward the end of August, 1851, the first public ceremony of Religious Reception² took place in the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul on High Street, later, Westminster Street. Clothed in the vesture of brides, three young ladies, candidates for the Mercy Sisterhood, received the habit and veil of the Institute after the celebration of High Mass, Right Reverend Bishop O'Reilly officiating. The Reverend Father McElroy, S. J. who conducted the Sisters' August retreat, preached on the occasion. This ceremony, as prescribed by the ritual, is at all times impressive, to the people

² The first Novitiate, 1851, comprised the following members: Sister M. Stanislaus, Mary Ann Spain; Sister M. Bernard, Marie Reid; Sister M. Borgia, Catherine Douglass; Sister M. Patricia, Ellen Whealan. Sister M. Stanislaus had been for some time a pupil at the private school in Binghamton, conducted by Mrs. Edward White (sister of Gerald Griffin) and her daughters, from 1836 to 1852.

in Providence seventy years ago, it was unique in its solemn grandeur.

Visitations of the sick and the poor began with the coming of the Sisters to Providence. This was, so far as we know, the first welfare service^{*} rendered in this rigid puritan city. These visitations were not confined to city-districts but took in the neighboring parishes and wherever the Sisters' ministering care was needed. Many poor families received food and other forms of relief from the Sisters' own meagre supply. Later, the people of the parish left baskets filled with food at the Convent to be distributed among the poor. These charity-missions were generally attended on foot, the street car was then unheard of, and the modern touring car might well have been viewed in the light of "Aladdin's Lamp." Insults and acts of rowdyism, inspired by the "nativists" were not uncommon on these missions of Mercy in the formative period of the Mercy Institute in New England.

In September the Sisters were invited to take charge of the Cathedral School of Saints Peter and Paul in Providence. This school had been established some years previous and placed in the care of three lay teachers, two ladies and a gentleman. Classes were held in the basement of the Cathedral with two hundred pupils enrolled. When the

^{*} It is very probable that the first social welfare service conducted in New England, was inaugurated in Boston in 1832 when Sister Ann Alexis and two Sister-companions, Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg, Maryland (Mother Seton Community) came to establish their work in schools, orphanages, hospitals and the visitation of the sick.

As early as 1817 the Ursuline Sisters were in Boston, but being strictly a teaching-order, the scope of their work does not include work in hospitals, orphanages and the visitations. This Community of Ursulines removed from Boston to Charleston, July 17, 1826 and opened a boarding school in the Convent. On the night of August 11, 1834 the building was destroyed by fire, the work of the Know-nothing "Nativists". No compensation for this great loss has ever been made.—See Shea's *Hist. of Cath. Ch. in U. S.*, vol. III, pp. 126-474 seq.

Sisters went there in 1851, a survey of the basement-school showed how "necessity" or poverty had become "the mother of invention". Two rows of benches, long and narrow, placed at each end of the large room, were used for seats. Boards fastened to the walls with hinges and lowered when needed, then held in place by supports, were the desks used in this early school. The present-day disciplinarian in a class room splendidly equipped with modern "steel standards" may perhaps, look askance upon these primitive conditions, yet the products of the school seventy years ago were a visible proof that "boards" and "benches" did not preclude real school work.

An Academy also was opened at St. Xavier's with ten pupils in register. This was the humble beginning of the present well-equipped St. Xavier's Academy and High School, the first Catholic Institution of its kind in the State of Rhode Island. Two rooms, the one used for a music room, the other for enlarging the chapel during the Sisters' religious exercises, were utilized for academy purposes. The Sisters proved themselves veritable stage-managers, so adept did they become in shifting the "setting" for the various scenes; a change, however, was imperative if the Sisters were to provide for the increase in applications for admission, both to the Sisterhood and to the Academy. The need forced a change in October, 1851, when the Sisters removed to a three-story stone residence on Broad and Claverick Streets, purchased during the summer by Bishop O'Reilly. This building consisted of six rooms and attic. The lower three rooms served as a parlor, refectory and kitchen, when not in class use. Rooms in the second floor were utilized for Chapel, community-room and novitiate. The last two served also for class, during school sessions. The attic was converted into sleeping apartments.

A frame house in the rear of the Convent was fitted up for a Girls' Orphan Asylum, twelve little girls were sheltered

here. This was, so far as we know, the second of its kind under Catholic auspices established in New England, the first home for Orphans had been opened in Boston in 1832, and placed in care of three Sisters of Charity * (Mother Seton Community) from Emmitsburg, Maryland.

During this year, 1851, the Sisters were invited to open a school in St. Patrick's Parish in the city of Providence. The number of pupils enrolled was two hundred. The mission was attended from St. Xavier's Convent until 1870, when it was deemed expedient that the Sisters should reside in the parish in order to carry on with less hardships other activities: welfare work in the parish, the care of the sick and the poor in their homes and the instruction of adults for the Sacrament.

Despite the unfriendly spirit of sectarians and the Know-nothing movement, together with the lack of accommodations in their first Convent-home, the new foundation was remarkably signalized in the number of vocations to the Mercy Sisterhood.

The Catholic Directory of 1852, within a year after the Sisters' advent to Hartford Diocese, shows a record of Six Professed Sisters, Seven Novices and Nine Postulants in the Community. The first activities of the Sisterhood as accredited by the Catholic Directory of the same year, 1852, are worthy of note.

" Sisters of Mercy, Providence, R. I.

" The Institute of Mercy embraces the following objects: the care of the sick and the support of female orphans; the support and protection of virtuous but poor and destitute young women until provided with situations; the visitation of the sick and providing the

* Sister Ann Alexis, Sister Blandina and Sister Loyola.

sick-poor with such comforts as circumstances may enable; the education of female⁴ children."

"The Sisters also opened an Academy in their Convent where all the branches essential to a complete education are taught by Sisters eminently qualified.

Orphan Asylum

"The Sisters of Mercy have opened a female orphan asylum at their residence. Twelve little orphan girls are cared for at the Convent."

Cathedral Free School

"The Sisters of Mercy have charge of this school, in which, they teach daily, three hundred little girls."

St. Patrick's Free School

"The Sisters of Mercy are in charge of this school and teach daily in it two hundred little girls."

HARTFORD 1852-1872

The rapid increase of the number of aspirants to the Mercy Sisterhood made possible the opening of Free Schools in Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut. The first foundation from Providence was made in the city of Hartford, St. Patrick's parish, May 11, 1852, six Sisters with Sister M. Paula Lombard, Superior, comprised this colony. Their first residence, a two-story brick house on Franklin Street, was blessed and given the title, St. Catherine.

The little Hartford community was cradled in poverty but its inception was rich in germinal growth and spiritual

⁴ It was the custom in the early pioneer days to give girls only in the charge of the Sisters in Schools and Orphanages. This custom later was discontinued, due probably to the firm stand of Bishop Hughes of New York when the Sisters of Charity were to be withdrawn from the Orphanage in New York, 1846.—See *Life of Archbishop Hughes* by Hassard, pp. 289-302.

activity and vigor which the mature product testifies. School was opened in the well-lighted and well-ventilated basement of St. Patrick's church recently completed. Two Sisters had charge of the girls' and the boy's primary department.

In 1858 the chapel which occupied about one-third of the basement was converted into class rooms to accommodate the large increase in attendance. In 1861 the primary and intermediate grades numbered about two hundred pupils. These, formerly in charge of male teachers, were given over to the care of the Sisters in 1862. Six Sister-teachers were now employed in the parochial school. In 1866, a new school building, a three-story eight-room brick structure was erected on Allyn Street. The boys' intermediate grades were given in charge of the Christian Brothers while the Sisters retained charge of the primary department of boys and continued the school in the basement of the Church. Some years later, these classes also were given accommodations in the Allyn Street school; the large hall formerly used for assembly purposes having been converted into class rooms.

Meantime, the Convent on Franklin Street could no longer comfortably accommodate the Sisters and the growing number of orphans. An urgent appeal for the opening of an Academy made the already overcrowded Convent arrangements more complex. The new Convent on Church Street, then in course of erection, would not be in readiness for some time. However, the acquisition of a spacious dwelling on Trumbell Street simplified matters; it served the triple purpose of Convent, Academy and Home for Orphans. When the Sisters moved into their new Convent on Church Street, the number of Academy pupils on roll was thirty and about the same number of Orphans. Later, young ladies living at such distances as to render it impossible to attend day school, were received here as boarders.

In 1864, a new two and one-half story brick building was

erected on the Church property as a Home for Orphan boys. It was blessed and placed under the patronal care of St. James. In 1868, the Sisters opened a parochial school in St. Peter's parish, the second school under their charge in Hartford. Three Sisters residing at St. Catherine's Convent went daily to teach in St. Peter's. In 1866, when the school was first opened it was placed under the supervision of the Board of Education. This controlling power, however, proved unsatisfactory. In 1868, the Sisters of Mercy were invited to re-open the school, the higher grades in the boys' department, however, were given in charge of male teachers. The Sister-teachers of St. Peter's made their home at St. Catherine's until August 1870, when a temporary home on the historic Charter Oak Place, was provided for them. An Academy was opened at the Convent with nineteen pupils in register. In 1872, at the division of the Diocese, St. Catherine's Convent became the Mother-house of the Sisters of Mercy in the diocese of Hartford, Connecticut.

NEW HAVEN 1852-1872

On May 12, 1852, the day following the opening of St. Catherine's Convent, Hartford, a second foundation sent out from Providence, opened a Convent and School in St. Mary's parish, New Haven, Connecticut. A comfortable home awaited the Sisters on George Street. The blessing of the house followed their arrival, and the Convent was given the title, St. Mary. Those who welcomed the Sisters in their new Convent witnessed a pathetically tender scene, when two little orphan girls came to the Sisters eager for shelter and a home.

The old St. Mary's Church formerly owned by a Congregational Society, had been used for school purposes years before the coming of the Sisters to New Haven and the school placed in charge of a lady teacher, highly qualified as

the efficient work of her pupils showed. When the Sisters took charge of this school there were on record two hundred pupils. Three parishes were represented in the student-body namely, St. Patrick's, St. John's and St. Mary's. The orphan girls of school age attended the parochial school. An Academy was opened at the Convent. Here they could accommodate sixty pupils. The removal of the Orphans to St. Francis' new Orphan Asylum in 1864, greatly augmented room capacity in the Academy.

A second school was opened in New Haven in the parish of St. Patrick in 1854. The Sisters of Mercy were invited to take charge of the girls; male teachers were provided for the boys until 1867, when they too were given over to the care of the Sisters. In 1862, the crowded condition of the school warranted the erection of a new building near Hamilton Street, facing Wallace Street. The following year, 1863, this school was ready for class work. The school continued to grow and called for three additional teachers in 1867.

During this year, 1867, the Reverend Matthew Hart, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, succeeded in obtaining from the Board of Education legal recognition for his schools, which were now placed under the supervision of that Board. This legal recognition extended also to the Sister-teachers whose salaries, like the public school teachers, were commensurate with the school grade taught. At this time there were seven hundred children in the schools. Late in the year the Parish School buildings on Hamilton and Wallace Streets were leased by the Board of Education. After many alterations in the structure of the buildings and a greater expenditure for furniture and equipment, schools were re-organized January 17, 1868. There were eight grades, including primary, intermediate and grammar departments. Ten Sisters, nine teachers and a principal, were in charge at the beginning, later another Sister was added to

the teaching-staff. The high standard of efficiency in the Schools recognized by the Board of Education established the prestige of the Sisters of Mercy as teachers in New England.

Meantime an addition to the corps of teachers at St. Mary's taxed its accommodation capacity. To facilitate matters, St. Patrick's teaching-staff whose headquarters were at St. Mary's, took up their residence in a temporary Convent-home on Chapel Street, October 2, 1869 and remained there until the fall of 1870 when a residence on Franklin Street was purchased and remodeled for their use.

The increase in the Catholic population of St. Patrick's parish was a proportional increase in school attendance which called for additional class rooms. These could be found only in the erection of a new building. Accordingly, a three-story structure designed for school rooms, library and reading rooms for the young men of the parish, also a large hall for assembly purposes, were erected on Wallace Street.

In 1872 at the division of the diocese, New Haven became a branch house of St. Catherine's Convent, Hartford, the Mother-house of the Sisters of Mercy in Connecticut.

Meantime the third school entrusted to the Sisters of Mercy in the city of Providence opened in St. Joseph's parish in the sacristy of St. Joseph's Church, 1854. A new school building was at this time far advanced in course of erection. When it was ready for school work, there were enrolled, boys and girls, one hundred and sixty pupils. The girls were given into charge of the Sisters; a male teacher was given supervision of the boys. After a short existence this school, because of economic and financial conditions, was closed; however, it was reorganized for the scholastic year of 1856. In 1858, the school was again closed and the building was converted into a pastoral residence. Seventeen years later, 1875, Reverend Daniel Kelly, the pastor of St. Joseph's

began the erection of a new school, a three-story brick building on John Street. After the death of Father Kelly in 1877, the school property passed into the hands of the Jesuit Fathers; the school remained closed until 1879 when it was re-opened for girls only. The boys attended the Christian Brothers' school. A high-school department was added in September 1881, and continued until 1891 when St. Xavier's Academy became the central high school for the parochial schools of the city.

NEWPORT, R. I.

In the same year, namely, 1854, the Sisters were invited to open a school in Newport, R. I. They arrived there May 3rd, the following week school opened with an attendance of sixty pupils. The Convent, a small cottage which formerly served as a Church during the week while the new edifice was in course of erection, was moved to a tract of land, the gift of Mrs. Goodloe Harper and Miss Emily Harper, descendants of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, whose home was in Baltimore and who spent their summers at Newport. A new wing was added to the Convent making a combination convent and school.

The convent was blessed and give the title, St. Mary's of the Isle. The Sisters began at once the visitations of the poor and the sick. Many large donations were placed in the hands of the Sisters to be used in relief of the destitute. Those who contributed largely were Mr. Charles Mixtur, Mr. Sidney Brooks,⁵ Mr. Royal Phelps⁵ and Miss Emily Harper. At the opening of the School two Sisters were sufficient to manage the classes. Later, when summer visitors benefited by the health-giving climate, made New-

⁵ Both non-Catholics. The former was probably a kinsman of Charles Timothy Brooks, born at Salem, Mass., June 20, 1813; died at Newport, R. I., June 14, 1883. He was an American Unitarian clergyman and author, noted chiefly as a translator from the German.

port their permanent residence, the attendance at St. Mary's called for more teachers. In 1862, the Naval Academy ships from Annapolis were stationed here. During their stay daughters of Naval officers and of professors in the Academy, nearly all of southern families, were among the student-body of St. Mary's of the Isle.

The need of a Select School hastened the opening of an Academy in October, 1867 in St. Mary's Convent. Twenty-eight girls from the Parochial School enrolled as first pupils. The organization of an Academy relieved pressure in the parochial school until the new school was in readiness in the spring of 1867. The new building was a three-story structure designed for school purposes and an assembly hall. Two class rooms on each floor were opened at the beginning. The boys' higher intermediate-grammar and high school grades were given in charge of a male teacher until 1871 when the Sisters were invited to assume the responsibility. The High-school Course was not formally added to the curriculum; however, many of the pupils remained at school until they completed almost the entire course usually prescribed for an accredited High School, bookkeeping, type-writing and stenography were also given. The Normal Music Course was taught in all grades. The class-rooms hitherto not in use were now made available. A circulating library of two hundred volumes was inaugurated in the Sunday School department in 1868.

The old Convent, Saint Mary's of the Isle, no longer a fit dwelling was removed and a spacious building, three and one-half stories in height, was erected on the site of the old building in 1880. Additional improvements were made in 1892, which gave the Academy more convenient quarters. The Academy, at this time, 1892, had on record a total attendance of eighty-four pupils, girls, 66; boys, 18.

In order to economize class-room space the interior of the school building was altered and improved in 1889. In 1893,

the school records show a total attendance of 556 pupils; girls, 272, boys, 284. Eight pupils, six girls and two boys were graduated at the end of the scholastic year 1893.

Meantime St. Xavier's Academy was so far successful as to attract the leading non-Catholic families in the city of Providence and vicinity. In consequence, various creeds were represented in its student-body, no religious test being required as a qualification for registration. In view of subsequent events this Academy was a potent factor in changing the attitude of men's minds toward the Sisterhood and Catholic belief in general. Its cultural influence was far-reaching. The non-Catholics who attended the Academy, as well as the Catholics, marveled at the high degree of intellectual and spiritual culture embodied in the humble teaching-staff of the Academy. The children's enthusiasm found an outlet within the home circle. Here were discussed the rare qualities of mind and heart of those religious women, who formerly had borne in silence the insult and opprobrium of the then native culture.

This religious strife, which was still rife in the city assumed a new and active form on March 20, 1855, as the records which chronicled this anti-Catholic movement and propaganda inform us. The actual condition of affairs in Providence may be tolerably well gleaned from the following communications:

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL,

MARCH 21, 1855.

"An article headed 'An American Girl Confined in a Nunnery,' appeared in the 'Tribune' yesterday, that Miss Newell a young lady of this city, having in prospect quite an amount of property, was persuaded to enter the Convent of Mercy, by undue influences, and that she was not allowed to visit her mother who was dangerously ill. The following communication was handed to us by the young lady, at whose request we called at the convent last evening. We

found there one of her relatives and the Mayor who, with commendable promptness, had gone to investigate the subject. Her story, as repeated by herself, was this: Some years ago she became inclined to the Roman Catholic faith, and after deliberation she made up her mind to join that communion. This step was naturally opposed by her family and in deference to their wishes she postponed it; but subsequently she was baptized in this church. After she became twenty-one years of age, she determined to enter the Convent of Mercy. She said that she was led into this by her conviction of right and that although she regretted to offend her family, she saw no prospect of their becoming reconciled to it, and as she had fully determined upon it and was of age she delayed no longer; that she was perfectly free to go and come as she pleased, and went into the streets daily; free not only to go out but to stay out, and that she could return to her family whenever she pleased. She indignantly denies that she had manifested indifference to the sickness of her mother, and said that, being told that her mother was ill on account of her going into the convent, she thought that it would only have a bad effect if she went to see her at present, unless with the intention of staying; in which view of the case the friend who at first asked her to go assented.

"We have no doubt of the truth of her statement, and we understand that His Honor the Mayor was equally convinced of it. As Miss Newell's fortune has been referred to, it may be proper to state that she became entitled, on the death of her father, to about \$5,000.

"However unpleasant it may be to see a young lady of high intelligence and character, forsake the religion of her father, and devote herself to a conventual life, instead of remaining in the society which she is so well qualified to adorn, there is certainly no law against it in the land of Roger Williams, and she must judge for herself."

During this visit to the Convent, Mr. Knowles, the Mayor of Providence, personally requested Mother Warde in company with her Sisters to leave the city, lest a fate worse than the destruction of the city be meted out to them. She inquired if he could not in his official capacity prevent a riot and the probable bloodshed. He replied that he was powerless in face of such force⁶ of armed men. Mother Ward's answer called for not a little courage: "If I were chief magistrate of the city; I should know how to prevent a riot and keep order." When again he urged her to leave the city, her reply was characteristic of the great Mother's heroism,⁷ "We will remain in our house and if needs be die rather than fly from the field of duty wherein God has placed us."

The answer to the calumny published in the "Tribune" under date March 21, 1855, is found in Miss Newell's communication which is worthy of inserting here:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL:

"The insertion of these few lines would confer a great favor upon one with whom the public has deemed proper to interfere most unpardonably. They are

⁶ Ten thousand of the Know-nothing party were expected to join the Providence-riot in behalf of their "Yankee" brethren.—*Annals*, Vol. III, p. 399.

In May, 1844, four thousand "Nativists" of Philadelphia attempted to burn the Convent of the Sisters of Charity of the B. V. M., who were in charge of the School of St. Michael's. They were prevented by the Irish who took up arms against them. The following day four thousand of the Know-nothing party assembled on "Independence Square" where their fury received new fuel in the form of speeches, etc. On May 8, St. Michael's Church was destroyed and sixty houses of the Irish set on fire. St. Augustine's Church, library and house were destroyed during the night.

See "Kenrick's Diary and Visitation Records", 1830-1851, p. 221 et seq. and "Kenrick-Frenaye Letters", p. 189 et seq.

⁷ *Life of Mother Warde* by a Sister of Mercy, Manchester, N. H., p. 170.

simply to declare the statement published in the "Tribune" of today, concerning her entrance to the Convent of Mercy, utterly false. In the present case she believed the shrinking from appearing before the public, which, under common circumstances, delicacy always prompts, would be only an inexcusable silence, since here the honor of revered friends is concerned.

"She has been admitted to the Convent at her earnest request, and only after long consideration on her own part, of the state of life she desired to embrace, and the statement with regard to her fortune is as exaggerated as others which the paragraph contains.

"In applying for admission to the Superior of the Convent, she was guided by a firm conviction of right alone, instead of romance and fascination, and had at that hour, as now, only the desire peaceably to follow the dictates of her conscience in a land of boasted liberty and equality of rights."

(Signed) REBECCA NEWELL.

Tuesday, March 20th.

Truth thus transmitted began to conquer. A complete victory, however, was not effected until the failure of the planned attack mentioned in the following communication:

EDITORIAL

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL,
MARCH 22, 1855.

"Some mischievous fool, following the lead of the stories about Miss Newell, which the young lady herself contradicted in our paper of yesterday has declared in the streets an invitation for a mob to assemble in front of the Convent this evening.

"The nearest way to the watch house is by College Street, but if any rowdies prefer the more roundabout course of annoying and insulting defenseless women in

their own house, they can accept the invitation offered. The placard^a would be most atrocious if there was any chance that its suggestions would be acted upon, but this we do not regard as possible.

"Should an attempt be made to violate the laws, the authorities lack neither the disposition nor the means to preserve the peace of the city, and they would have the support of all the friends of law and order of every Party."

Despite the "Journal's" able pen defense of justice and equity, the mob at the appointed time and place, approached the Convent but were not prepared to meet a band of sturdy Irish Catholics who were ready armed to defend the Sisters with their heart's blood.

The arrival of Mr. Stead, former owner of the Convent property, and Bishop O'Reilly put to shame the hooting mob.^b The Bishop's words are characteristic; "The Sisters

^a The following is a copy of the placard:

AMERICANS!

"To Whom These Presents May Come.

"Greeting:

Whereas, certain rumors are afloat, of a certain transaction, of a certain ANTI-SAM party in the vicinity of the corner of Claverick and Broad Streets, every true Native American Born Citizen, is requested, one and all, to assemble there Thursday Evening, March 22nd, 1855, at 8 o'clock precisely. There with true regard to Law, and consulting the feelings and sympathies of SAM, proceedings of the most solemn and unquestionable nature will be transacted.

"One and all to the Rescue!!

"The Password is "SHOW YOURSELF."

^b During the civil war, one of the Providence rioters having been wounded in battle was taken to the Military Hospital, Jefferson City, in charge of the Sisters of Mercy. Recognizing the Religious habit he told the Sister-nurse of his part in the Convent attack and his subsequent conversion to the Catholic Faith due to the example of Mother Warde and the heroism of Bishop O'Reilly.

are in their home, they shall not leave it for an hour. I shall protect them while I have life and if necessary register their safety with my blood." The combined forces of law and moral suasion proved effective, and the mob quietly withdrew, thus ending the last and most violent form of religious antagonism in Providence. The city's return to normal conditions was marked by the wide-spreading influence of the Sisters and a greater religious tolerance in general.¹⁰

During the year 1854, the Catholic population of the Diocese of Hartford numbered fifty-five thousand. Owing to the vast increase, Bishop O'Reilly thought it expedient to augment the number of priests, and religious, and to bring Christian Brothers into his diocese. With this end in view, to bring recruits for the priesthood and religious for the schools from Ireland, he sailed for Europe, December 5, 1855. His mission having been accomplished, he embarked for America on the ill-fated Pacific which was evidently lost at sea with all on board.

The death of Bishop O'Reilly was an irreparable loss to the whole diocese but was felt with a special keenness by the Sisters of Mercy in whose activities the Bishop was heartily interested; he had brought them from Pittsburg, the first Community of Religious women in the diocese and in their work for education and the care of Orphans and the poor, he was a leading and potent factor. To Bishop O'Reilly more than to any other, perhaps, New England owes the establishment of its system of Parochial Schools.

¹⁰ Mother Warde went quietly among the men who were congregated in the rear of the Convent enclosure, exhorting them to self-control and exacting a promise from each not to fire unless in self-defense. One of the rioters seeing the influence she exerted over the men exclaimed.

"We made our plans without reasoning the odds we will have to contend with in the strong controlling force the presence of that nun commands. The only honorable course for us to follow is to retreat from the ill-conceived fray, I, for one, will not lift a hand to harm these ladies."—See *Life of Mother Warde* by a Sister of Mercy, Manchester, N. H., p. 171.

The growth and development of the Sisters of Mercy in the diocese of Hartford from 1851 when they came there, four in number, until 1856, is remarkable and perhaps without precedent in the United States. When in 1858, Rt. Rev. Bishop McFarland, the successor of Bishop O'Reilly, came to the diocese of Hartford, he found it in a flourishing condition. The schools conducted by the Sisters of Mercy were an earnest of the future.

The Catholic Directory of 1857 gives the number of Professed choir Sisters in the Diocese, thirty-four, with fourteen lay Sisters, twenty Novices, and eight Postulants. Three Academies were under their charge: St. Xavier's in Providence, R. I., an Academy at their Convent, St. Patrick's New Haven; another Academy St. Catherine's, on Church Street Hartford, Connecticut.

The Sisters also had charge of the following Free Schools: In Providence: a Free School for Girls with four hundred in attendance; St. Patrick's Free School for Girls, three hundred pupils registered; St. Joseph's Free School for Girls, three hundred and sixty pupils; at St. Patrick's, Hartford, the Sisters were teaching two hundred children; in St. Mary's, New Haven, a Free School, under the charge of the Sisters with three hundred pupils; St. Patrick's New Haven, a Free School for Girls three hundred pupils registered; Free School of Girls, Newport, two hundred pupils in attendance.

In the Directory of 1858, St. Xavier's Academy shows an enrolment of fifty pupils; St. Catharine's, Hartford, fifty-five; St. Mary's, New Haven, fifty. St. Mary's Orphan Asylum, Providence, shelters fifty-five orphans; twenty orphans are cared for in Hartford Asylum and the Home for Girls in New Haven cares for thirty-five.

Total (including parochial school pupils in 1857) 2325.

The Bishop himself gave personal instructions in the sciences and the classics to the Sisters, many of whom be-

came proficient scholars under his instruction.

In 1857, Mother Warde, having been invited, sent six Sisters to found a Convent in Rochester, then in the diocese of Buffalo, New York. In the same year (1857) Sisters of Mercy from Rochester went to Buffalo to take charge of a Parochial School there.

The year 1858 had a double significance to the Providence Community: the consecration of Bishop McFarland, successor of Bishop Bernard O'Reilly, and the passing of Mother Warde to the Manchester Community. At the consecration of Bishop McFarland, Bishop Bacon from Portland made his first appeal for a community of Sisters of Mercy to open schools in Manchester, New Hampshire. Father McDonald, pastor in Manchester, strongly urged this appeal. After waiting some months and not seeing any evidence of a favorable response, Bishop Bacon again visited Providence with the sole purpose of a personal interview with Mother Warde. He pointed out to her that the only solution to the problem of keeping the faith in the children of his diocese lay in Catholic education. With the consent of Bishop McFarland the request was granted. Mother Warde, whose term of office had recently expired, was appointed by her successor, Mother M. Josephine Lombard, Superior of the new Foundation. July 16, 1858, the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, marked the departure of the new foundation from Providence and their subsequent entrance into Manchester.

During Bishop McFarland's episcopate, a new impulse was given to Catholic Education. He directed the work and assured its success by increasing the number of schools throughout the diocese and by steadily raising the educational standard. The Cathedral School, Lime Street, by his zeal and wise counsel so increased that four times the number of Sisters were needed where a few years previous three or four sufficed. In 1859 the Sisters of Mercy took

charge of the boys' schools in Providence. The following year 1860, schools were opened in South Street, Providence for boys and girls.

Meantime the spiritual energy at work in the chain of parochial schools in the North was transmitted to the South. In 1859, Bishop Verot of Florida came to Providence to invite the Sisters of Mercy to open a school in his diocese. With the consent of Bishop McFarland a community was selected for this new field of labor. This was the first school of the Sisters of Mercy, Mother McAuley Foundation, on Southern soil. A Boarding School and Day School were accordingly opened in historic St. Augustine, Florida, Mother M. Liguori Major, a convert, was appointed Superior.

A second foundation was sent from the Mother-house in Providence to the South on November 1, 1866, to open schools in Nashville, at the personal request of Rt. Reverend Patrick Feehan, Bishop of Nashville, Tennessee. (Later first Archbishop of Chicago 1880-1902). Six Sisters with Mother Mary Clare McMahon formed the Community which established St. Bernard's Convent and school in the episcopal city.

Immediately after the war, Sisters were sent to reinforce the Community in Columbus, Ga., which had been founded in 1862 from St. Augustine, Florida. A second detachment left St. Xavier's in 1868, to aid the Community in St. Augustine which suffered untold hardships during those turbulent times.

PAWTUCKET

In the summer of 1861, the Sisters of Mercy were invited to take charge of the girls' department of the parochial school,¹¹ on Grace and George Streets, which had been

¹¹ This school building two and one-half stories in height was erected in 1854. In 1859 a two-story annex was erected to accommodate the children who came from Central Falls, Valley Falls and Lonesdale, distances of from one to three miles.

established in the Immaculate Conception parish, Pawtucket,¹² in 1855, and given into the charge of lay teachers. Two Sisters went daily by stage from the Mother-house, St. Francis Xavier, Providence, until the completion of the new Convent, St. Joseph's, April, 1862. During the erection of the Convent, the men of the parish ably assisted the pastor, the Reverend Patrick G. Delany, some by contributing a day's labor, others by providing vehicles for hauling purposes.

In 1863, the boys of this school were given in charge of the Sisters, the male teachers who had had charge having resigned. This increase in labor necessitated the addition of two Sisters to the teaching-staff. The remodeling of the Convent in the summer of 1868, made possible the opening of an Academy and a boarding school in the following September. At the opening the Academy records show an enrolment of fifty children, ten of whom were resident pupils.

The nearness to St. Francis Xavier Academy, Providence, with its superior advantages made a boarding school in Pawtucket impracticable, consequently it was closed to make room for the growing community. The Academy, however, continued until the completion of the new school, St. Mary's, September 7, 1891. At the opening of this school the Sister-teachers, eight in number, were prepared for five hundred pupils only; it was found necessary however to open two additional rooms to accommodate the eight hundred children who waited to be enrolled. Temporary seats and desks were provided until school-furniture could be procured.

Two Sisters reinforced the teaching-staff. The pupils were reclassified into nine grades. Ten class rooms were in use. In 1893, the school records show an enrolment of

¹² Pawtucket formed part of Bristol Co., Mass., till 1861. A portion of North Providence was annexed to it in 1874.

755 pupils; girls, 330; boys, 325. Graduates, 10. The Sunday-school records show an enrollment of eleven hundred children; boys, 500; girls, 600.

In May, 1887, a second school was opened in Pawtucket, in St. Joseph's parish. A private residence situated in the center of a tract of well-kept land on Wallcott Street, was purchased for a Convent. A large barn on the premises was fitted up for school purposes. On September 5, 1887 four hundred children assembled for registration. The attendance overtaxed the limited capacity of the "barn" school; to relieve this congested condition a small frame building was erected nearby for the use of lower grades.

On the removal of the primary grades the school was re-organized and the children classified into twelve grades. At the close of the term examinations¹⁸ were held by the pastor and his assistant. The year 1893 made many changes in Church property. A new School was imperative; the Convent needed many improvements; accordingly both school buildings were removed to Denver Street, remodeled and used for school purposes until the erection of the new building on the old Convent ground, the Convent having been removed to the site of the old school building.

In September 1863, the Sisters organized their fourth school in the city of Providence, in the Immaculate Conception Parish. This school, a two-story church-annex had been in charge of lay teachers. The Sisters made their home at St. Francis Xavier's Convent and continued in charge of the girls' department in the Immaculate Conception school until July, 1867, when they were withdrawn and the Sisters of Charity assumed charge. In 1905 the Sisters of Charity were recalled to the Mother-house and the Sisters of Mercy again assumed charge.

¹⁸ It was not uncommon in New England during the pioneer days of parochial schools to conduct the examinations at the public closing exercises.

WOONSOCKET, R. I.

On August 20, 1869, a foundation of Sisters of Mercy arrived in Woonsocket from the Mother-house, St. Xavier's, Providence, to organize a parochial school in St. Charles' parish. The school, a brick structure, on the corner of Daniel and Earle Streets had been built in 1859 and entrusted to lay teachers. When the Sisters went there in 1869 they found that an eight-grade classification had been established, subsequently high-school subjects were added to the curriculum. An Academy was also inaugurated at the Convent, St. Bernard's.

To meet the conditions consequent on a growing school and academy, each with limited capacity, a large barn was altered and improved so as to meet classroom requirements. Late in the scholastic year the senior department of the academy was transferred to this building; the junior grades, however, were retained at the Convent until 1873, when a convent-annex was erected, thus giving more comfortable quarters both to pupils and teachers. The academy at this time had in register one hundred and twenty-five pupils, many non-Catholics among the number. The greater part of the sum total were French Canadians.

The number of pupils in attendance in 1879 was large enough to make the erection of a new school a manifest need. To preclude the hardships consequent on the long daily tramp to school, the new brick building, two and one-half stories in height was erected on River Street, a site convenient to the greater number of children. On the feast of St. Michael, September 29, 1879, the formal opening took place, after the blessing of the school which was placed under the patronage of St. Michael. The registration marked one hundred and seventy pupils.

The growth of the French Canadian student-body at St. Michael's made a community of French Sisters desirable.

Accordingly in the summer of 1880, the Order of "*Jesu-Marie*" arrived in Woonsocket to assume charge of the new school in the Precious Blood Parish. No Convent was in readiness to receive the Sisters, they therefore made their home with the Sisters at St. Bernard's Convent until the following October, 1880. The opening of the French school naturally drew French children from St. Bernard's Academy which rendered the up-keep of the latter practically needless, however, it continued until 1887 when a need of greater urgency elsewhere called for the Sisters' services. Prior to the advent of the French Community, the French Sisters of Mercy from St. Bernard's visited the sick, organized societies and classes in Christian Doctrine, instructed converts for the Sacraments, and took care of the altar and Mass appurtenances in the school-hall, which was used for divine services for the people of the Precious Blood Parish.

NEW BEDFORD

A call from New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1873, came to the Mother-house in Providence for Sisters to take charge of the hospital established in St. Lawrence's parish. The hospital, the first institution of its kind opened in the city, was inaugurated by Rev. Lawrence McMahon, subsequently, Bishop of Hartford, 1879-1893. On January 1, 1876, a yearly report of the Secretary, Stephen W. Hayes, gives one hundred and ten patients treated during the year. These were listed as natives of the following countries: United States, Ireland, Scotland, England, Western Islands, Cape de Verde Islands, St. Helena, Denmark, Port Natal, New Zealand, Holland, France, Norway, Canada, Germany, Spain, West Indies and China. Twenty-nine of the patients thus registered were Americans; the Irish numbered thirty-six. The majority of the total number were charity-patients.

Ten years later, 1883, a parochial school was opened in St. Joseph's parish, New Bedford and given in charge of eight Sisters of Mercy. The school attendance numbered three-hundred and eighty children. Within a month over four hundred were recorded. High-school subjects were introduced from the beginning; however, it was not until 1884, that the High School course was formally inaugurated. The first High School class was graduated in June 1887. In 1888, it was found necessary to convert the large assembly hall into classrooms. The total attendance in 1891 was seven hundred and fifty-five pupils, boys 367; girls 388. A second school, St. Mary, was opened in New Bedford, St. James' parish in 1885. Eight classrooms were utilized at the beginning. When the children completed the grammar grades, the pupils who desired to continue school work were transferred to St. Joseph's High School.

On March 12, 1904, the diocese of Providence was divided and New Bedford became part of the newly created diocese, Fall River. The Sisters of Mercy in the Diocese of Fall River became an independent community.

FALL RIVER

Three Sisters of Mercy from St. Xavier's Convent, Providence, arrived in Fall River, Mass. February 23, 1874 to open a school in St. Mary's parish. Later, five Sisters were added to the teaching-staff. No arrangements had been made for the opening of a parochial school, an Academy was, in consequence, established in the Convent, a rented tenement, March 19, 1874. Four rooms were used for school purposes at the beginning, later two additional rooms were utilized.

In 1875, St. Mary's old church was remodeled to answer school purposes until better accommodations could be secured. Meantime a private residence on Second Street, sufficiently large to answer the dual purpose of Convent and

Academy, was purchased, and school opened in December, 1875. The children registered were from the following parishes: St. Mary's, Sacred Heart, St. Patrick's and from those sections of the city which now constitute the parishes of The Immaculate Conception and Notre Dame de Lourdes.

A second school in Fall River was established in the basement of the French Canadian church, St. Ann's, September, 1879, by two French Sisters of Mercy from the Mother-house, St. Xavier's, Providence. One hundred and forty children registered at the beginning. Classes were conducted in the English and French languages. Due to the constant increase of French population, it was thought expedient to introduce a French community of Sisters; accordingly, Sisters of the Holy Cross, having been invited assumed charge. The Sisters of Mercy while teaching at St. Ann's school made St. Catherine's Convent their home.

In St. Patrick's parish, 1886, the third school in Fall River, entrusted to the Sisters of Mercy was established with a registration of two hundred and fifty pupils. The destruction of St. Patrick's school by fire, August 20, 1890, caused much inconvenience; however, February 1891, saw the school again in operation with a High School course added to the curriculum. In June, 1893, St. Patrick's had a school attendance of four hundred and eleven pupils.

A Home for Orphans, St. Vincent's, was opened at Fall River by three Sisters of Mercy from Providence, R. I. in 1885. At the opening there were seven little orphans. The building was formerly a hotel, one of the many structures erected on the property known as "Forest Hill Gardens." The charity of the community at large was made practical in donations of large sums of money, clothing and groceries. Amusements for the orphans were also provided by the generous people. Fall River became the episcopal residence of the bishop of Fall River Diocese created March 12, 1904, and also headquarters of the Sisters of Mercy in the new diocese.

VALLEY FALLS

On August 26, 1878, six sisters of Mercy arrived in Valley Falls, R. I. from the Mother-house in Providence to open a school in St. Patrick's parish. The school opened in September 1878, with three hundred and fifty children in attendance, eight grades. Later a High School was opened but was discontinued in 1892. The Convent, a dwelling erected to accommodate about five families, was in an undesirable locality, the Sisters, however, remained here until 1880, when St. Thomas' School was erected adjoining the Convent.

CENTRAL FALLS

In 1883, two Sisters of Mercy from St. Xavier's having been invited, opened a school in the basement of the French Canadian Church of Notre Dame, Central Falls, R. I. At the beginning the registration was small, in a month or two, however, the enrolment showed an attendance of one hundred and thirty pupils. The classes were conducted in both English and French languages. The Sisters made St. Thomas' Convent, Valley Falls, their headquarters.

Meantime the parochial school in St. Edward's parish which had been opened in 1877 and conducted by secular teachers, was placed under the supervision of the Sisters of Mercy in 1881. School was held in the basement of the St. Edward's Church while the new church was in course of erection. The school attendance at the opening was one hundred. In 1889, the old church was made convenient for school purposes. The school record now showed an attendance of one hundred and sixty pupils. In 1892, the upper floor which had been used for an assembly hall was converted into class-rooms, three of which were put to immediate use. Three Sisters were also added to the teaching-staff.

In 1893, there were on roll two hundred pupils. This year the school conferred diplomas on its first graduating class. Owing to the death of the esteemed pastor, Rev. J. A. Finnigan, who was a tireless worker in the cause of Catholic Education, there were no public exercises. Prior to the year 1892, the Sisters teaching at St. Edward's made St. Xavier's their home. In September, 1892, the former pastoral residence became the headquarters of the Sisters of St. Edward's.

In 1888, the statistics of the diocese of Providence as given in the *Annals* * are as follows:

Convents, 11; Academies, 4; hospital, 1; orphanages, 2; parochial schools, 16; Sunday-schools, 20. In these institutions there are 270 orphans, 319 pupils in the academies, 6165 pupils in the parochial schools; graduates pursuing higher studies, 99; Children of Mary, 2803; Angels' Sodalities, 1213; Infant Jesus' Sodalities, 957; Rosary Societies, 395; Altar Societies, 1287; other sodalities, chiefly boys' 463; Sunday-schools, 8100; Literary Societies, 90; Ladies' Aid Societies, for providing clothing and other necessities for the poor, 619. These are under the charge of 159 Sisters of Mercy. From 1851 to 1888 the number professed Sisters is 225; the number of deaths 49.

The Catholic Directory of 1896 lists for the Providence diocese; Sisters; 172; Asylums, 2; Orphans, 350; Academies, 2; Parochial Schools, 14; Pupils, 6775.

In September, 1915, the Sisters of Mercy assumed charge of St. Mary's School, Wood Street, Bristol. It opened with an attendance of seventy pupils. There are at present (1921) 282 pupils classified in seven grades, taught by eight Sisters. In 1916, a parish school was established at St. Ann's, (Italian) Providence with three hundred children recorded. The curriculum calls for eight grades. Nine

* p. 431.

Sisters in charge. Two Convents were established in 1917. St. Joseph's Convent, Mendon Road, Ashton, where the Sisters have organized classes in Christian Doctrine, sewing and embroidery was opened. They also visited and took care of the sick in their own homes. Sacred Heart School, Tauton Avenue, East Providence was established with six grades, taught by four Sisters.

HOME FOR ORPHANS

The initial step in the organization of a home for orphans was taken in 1851, when two little orphan girls were brought to St. Xavier's Convent to be sheltered by the Sisters. The asylum opened in a one and one half story frame building near the convent and served as a diocesan institution until 1853, when orphan asylums were opened in Hartford and New Haven by the Sisters of Mercy who had established schools in those cities in 1852. The transfer of orphans from Providence to Hartford and New Haven precluded for a time taxed capacity in St. Xavier's, however the asylum was overcrowded in 1853. Plans were then projected by Bishop McFarland for the erection of a new shelter, a brick building adjoining the Convent. These plans were presented to Mother Xavier Warde who for some time previous had been struggling with the academy-accommodation problem. In Bishop McFarland's project, Mother Warde found the key to the solution of her problem. By altering the original design and extending the building ten feet beyond the original plans, more ample quarters could be secured for the academy. With the Bishop's approval the modified plans were carried out, the Sisters assuming the debt of the academy-annex. The building was completed in 1856, and the greater number of orphans removed to the new building which was given the title, St. Mary of the Ascension. The smaller children remained in the old building.

The next step was to provide for the orphan boys. With this end in view, the Bishop purchased ground on Prairie Avenue, South Providence, and in 1861 the erection of a three and one-half story building sufficiently large to accommodate boys and girls was begun and completed in 1862. It was placed under the patronal care of St. Aloysius, the legal title being "Rhode Island Catholic Orphan Asylum". In April, 1862 the orphans were transferred to St. Aloysius' Home, one of the finest buildings in the city of Providence. There were at this time thirty-eight orphan girls in the institution. In 1864 there were two hundred and nine inmates; boys, 111; girls, 98.

During this year, 1864 the orphans from the State of Connecticut were transferred from St. Aloysius' Home to Hartford, St. James' Orphanage, which was recently completed.

In 1865, the spacious building erected four years previous could no longer accommodate the number of orphan boys and girls. It was found necessary in 1865 to purchase an old church, St. Bernard's, and move it to a lot adjoining the orphanage. This building supplemented the domestic department and provided class-rooms and play-rooms for the smaller children. Here also was baked all the bread the hungry little mouths could consume. An Industrial School was inaugurated at St. Aloysius' Orphanage, Providence, January, 1867. About twenty-five sewing machines were installed; during the two years subsequent, this department became a veritable shirt-factory, supplying the demands of a New York firm.

When Bishop Hendricken came to Providence in 1872, he established a nursery for children whose ages ranged from one to two and one-half years. At the opening there were about fifteen little ones cared for, the number soon increasing to twenty-three. A matron assisted by the older girls in the orphanage was given charge of the little ones. Children under one year were boarded by a Catholic colored

woman until they were old enough to be cared for in the nursery.

Bishop Matthew Harkins, the successor of Bishop Hendricken to the See of Providence in 1887, took the same interest and paternal care of the Orphans. One of his first activities was the erection of a wing to the orphanage. With this addition the building comfortably accommodated over two hundred children. In 1892, there were two hundred and fifteen orphans.

From the beginning, the Orphans were maintained solely by the uncertain income derived from fairs and entertainments, which were organized by the Sister. Bishop Harkins took the first step to place on a solid basis the revenue for the support of the Orphans by parochial assessments. The Orphanage has at the present time, 1921, 300; boys, 170; girls, 130; eighteen Sisters in charge.

THE TYLER SCHOOL ¹⁴

This school is the development of the Cathedral or Lime Street School which had been established by Bishop O'Reilly in 1851, and the South Street School, erected and opened in 1864. An Academy for boys had been inaugurated by Bishop O'Reilly prior to his departure for Europe in 1855, in quest of a reinforcement of priests for his diocese and Christian Brothers for his schools.

After Bishop McFarland came to Providence the Academy for boys was closed, 1858. To relieve the crowded condition of the South Street School in 1885, the larger boys in Lime Street School were transferred to La Salle Academy which had been opened on Fountain Street by the Christian Brothers.

When the Tyler School was opened in 1890, there was a

¹⁴ So called in loving memory of Rt. Rev. William Tyler, convert and first bishop of Hartford diocese. He was consecrated in the Cathedral of Baltimore, March 17, 1844, died June 18, 1849.

school attendance of 571 pupils; 196 boys and 190 girls were transferred from Lime Street School, while South Street School sent 90 boys and 95 girls. An Industrial Department was opened in the basement which afforded instruction in manual training, cooking and sewing. The Manual Training department adopted the 'Sloyd System' which included mechanical and free-hand drawing, woodwork and wood-carving. Professor Shephard, a graduate of the Cooper Institute, was placed in charge. The domestic science department which had on record forty pupils embraced cooking and sewing. It was superintended by Miss Hughes of Boston.

In 1893, the Industrial Department gave its first public exhibition. According to the local paper which chronicled the event, the cooking class gave evidence of its practical knowledge in the form of bread, cakes, cookies, puddings, pies, meats, fish and various forms of plain and fancy cooking. The Manual Training exhibit consisted of wood-turning, wood-carving, scrolls and various forms of hand-craft. Drawings which evidenced careful instructions were also presented to the public.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S ACADEMY

From its inauguration on High Street, September, 1851, to the present time, 1921, St. Xavier's academy has been progressive not only in the usual grammar and high school branches, but also in Music and Art. Its removal to a more commodious building in Claverick Street in 1856, greatly augmented the capacity for prospective pupils. In 1865 an important annex, St. Mary's of the Ascension, was erected which housed comfortably ninety-five pupils, thirty of whom were resident pupils. This addition also made possible a reservation of rooms for the music and art departments which reached a high degree of efficiency during the latter part of the sixties and the early seventies. The art de-

partment occupied nearly the entire second floor. An important asset was the establishment of the library containing five hundred bound volumes on art and the great master artists.

In 1871 when wax-work became popular, a class to promote hand-craft was organized and a room set apart for the purpose. Later two cases of wax-work, the handcraft of the Sisters, were sent to the Rhode Island State Fair. "A Luncheon in Wax" won much attention not only from the judges but from the public at large. The "Luncheon" consisted of "oysters on the half shell and oysters on the plate, slices of buttered bread and celery, breast and shoulder of the chicken with gravy, slice of cheese, pot of baked beans, small loaf of brown bread, hard-boiled egg sliced, oyster crackers, pickles, cranberry sauce." * The work was so true to nature as to deceive the judges who refused to believe the work was wrought in wax, and invited the public to inspect the "original well preserved." At the request of the Sisters the work was tested publicly which resulted in the "incredulous" being convinced. The medal offered by the Rhode Island "Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry" was awarded to the Sisters of St. Xavier's Convent, and testified to the high degree of merit of their work in handcraft. Subsequently, a piece in needle work representing "Ossian and Malvina" when Ossian tells her of the death of her husband, attracted sufficient attention as to merit for the Sisters a special diploma for proficiency in handcraft from the State fair officials.

The division of the diocese in 1872 caused many changes in the Hartford Community, the greatest of which was the inauguration at St. Catherine's, Hartford, of an independent Mother-house of the Sisters of Mercy in Connecticut. Sister M. Pauline Maher was chosen first Superior. Sister M.

* *Sisters of Mercy in Providence*, p. 73.

Bernard Reed was made Superior of the Sisters of Mercy in the newly created diocese of Providence, St. Xavier's Convent continued to be the headquarters of the Sisters of Mercy in Rhode Island. Each community numbered seventy Sisters. A Boarding School was established at St. Catherine's Convent, Hartford in the following September, As a natural sequence the children from Connecticut attending St. Xavier's Academy withdrew, and enrolled at St. Catherine's. This withdrawal was followed by a brief interlude in the growth of St. Xavier's Academy. Its removal to Bayview in 1874, proved an important change in the subsequent development of the boarding school. St. Xavier's then became a day school for young ladies. In 1920, it became a high school for day pupils only.

The Academy curriculum embraced three departments; junior, intermediate and senior. The senior department included general history, bookkeeping, natural philosophy, rhetoric, English literature, etymology of English words, physical geography, etiquette and Church history. The electives were algebra, geometry, Latin, French, German, astronomy and geology. Lectures were given during the month on mineralogy, botany, hygiene and mental philosophy; classes in needlework also were held during the month.

BAYVIEW SEMINARY

This Institution, one of the finest of its kind in New England is the logical development of the idea which first inaugurated St. Xavier's Academy in its modest quarters on High Street, 1851. It opened in the residence which had been erected on a tract of thirty-six acres which was purchased in July, 1874. Sixty pupils were recorded at the beginning; 50 boarders and 10 day pupils. The site is splendidly located, commanding an excellent view of Narragansett Bay and the surrounding country. The cur-

riculum as given in records of 1893, is based on the same principle as that of St. Francis Xavier's Academy, namely, the regular four year's High-school course together with special and partial courses. These courses afford instructions in general history, Church history, English literature, history of the English language, rhetoric, moral science, civil government, algebra, geometry, astronomy, psychology, botany, chemistry, physics, geology, Latin,* French, German,* normal music courses, short-hand,* drawing,* type-writing, composition, elocution (by professor), calisthenics and sewing. Its library contained, in 1893, over one thousand bound volumes besides pamphlets, periodicals, etc. Some of the most prized volumes are the works of Longfellow, the poet's personal gift to the Institution. Cabinets of minerals, geological specimens, shells, etc. are of great value.

The music department afforded instructions on the organ, piano, guitar and harp. A course in vocal music had also been established. The art department embraced work on china, in crayon, pastel, oils and water colors; ornamental needlework was also included in this section of the Seminary. From its establishment the growth of this institution has been steady. It seemed a safe abiding-place of knowledge, piety and virtue to non-Catholics as well as to Catholics. This is verified in a letter written by a United States army officer from Fort Brown, Texas, dated October 7, 1878, to the editor of the "Pilot" in which he tells his attitude of mind toward the Catholic Sisterhood when in 1878 he brought his daughter to the Seminary to be educated. He was not "predisposed in favor of Academies conducted by the Sisters of Mercy . . . this was the result of ignorance on my part . . . I had not taken the trouble to learn for myself and, like thousands of others, indolently adopted the

* electives.

assertions of those no better informed than myself, that they were simply 'proselytizing institutions' and that the attainments of those entrusted with the education and with forming the minds of our young women were simply superficial. . . ."

This officer refers also to the "courteous treatment of visitors" by the Sisters, and their willingness and evident anxiety to exhibit the progress made by the pupils so different from the demeanor shown in some other institutions where I have found the presence of parents seemingly irksome to the teachers. . . ."

The letter closes with "the hope that it may meet the eye of some parent who may happily be in doubt and who seeks to send a daughter where purifying influences predominate, and where education is not a myth."

(Signed) "THEODORE J. ECKERSON,
"Brevet-Major U. S. Army."

During the life of service extending through a period of seventy years, the Academy of St. Francis Xavier and its outgrowth, St. Mary's Seminary have graduated over seven hundred pupils.

The Sisters of Mercy in Providence diocese have from their arrival in 1851 to the present time 1921, attended zealously to the intellectual as well as the spiritual sides of the child's nature. The religious ferment which confronted them on their arrival in the city of Providence, threatened to make complex the problem entailed in establishing the activities of their Institute. The problem, however, solved itself when brought face to face with the stable principles of justice, and equity, and evidences of social betterment resultant of their works. Not satisfied with keeping abreast of other schools they have endeavored to equip their own with the best, intellectually and materially, so as to render greater service to the community at large. For this reason

many of the Sisters have equipped themselves with college training so as to make their works more efficient.

During the epidemic of influenza, 1918, the Sisters throughout the diocese gave generously of their services in nursing the sick in St. Joseph's Hospital, Broad Street, under the direction of the Franciscan Sisters; in the Rhode Island Hospital, they ably assisted the doctors and nurses of that Institution. In Pawtucket and Woonsocket they rendered excellent service in the local hospitals while the epidemic lasted. District nursing was also established in the cities, towns and villages where the Sisters' ministering care was needed. Complete statistics of the work of the Sisters during the epidemic are not now within our reach.

THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN THE DIOCESE OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND,
HAVE CHARGE OF THE INSTITUTIONS HERE LISTED, 1921

	<i>Religious</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Convent of St. Francis Xavier, Religious Novitiate, Normal Training School, Summer School. (Men, 1; Women, 3)	4	35
St. Francis Xavier's Academy, 60 Broad St., Providence, R. I., High School, Commercial High School	16	394
St. Mary's Academy, High School, Elementary, Spring St., Newport, R. I.	2	12
Elementary School, Grades, 8	6	107
St. Mary's Seminary, High School, Commercial High School, East Providence, R. I.	19	106

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Grades Eight

PROVIDENCE	<i>Religious</i>	<i>Boys and Girls</i>
Tyler School	21	836
St. Ann's School (Italian)	4	412
Cleary School, John St.	19	802
St. Edward's, Branch Ave.	3	357
Immaculate Conception, West River St.	10	510
St. Patrick's, Davis St.	8	507

BRISTOL

St. Mary's School, Wood St. Grades seven	7	282
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EAST PROVIDENCE

Sacred Heart School, Tauton Ave. Grades six	4	132
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NEWPORT

St. Augustine's School, Harrison Ave. Grades nine.	7	282
St. Mary's, Levin St. Grades eight	8	405

PAWTUCKET

St. Joseph's School, Walcott St. Grades eight	11	494
St. Mary's School, George St. Grades eight	12	578

VALLEY FALLS

St. Patrick's School, Broad St. Grades eight	10	558
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WOONSOCKET

St. Charles' School, Eagle St. Grades eight	9	349
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ASHTON

St. Joseph's Convent, Mendon Road, Christian Doctrine Class	180
Christion Doctrine, Sewing and Sewing and embroidery	
embroidery classes. classes	125

INSTITUTIONAL SCHOOLS

Grades eight

St. Aloysius' Home, Orphan Asylum, Elementary School, 493 Prairie Ave., Providence, R. I.	10	305
Mercy Home, Orphan Asylum, Elementary School, Newport, R. I. Grades nine	4	64
Total Number of Sisters in the Diocese		280
High Schools and Academies		3
Elementary Schools		14
Home for Orphans		2
Total Number of Sister teachers		188
Total Number of children under their control (Christian Doctrine Classes and Sewing Classes non-inclusive)		7527

DIOCESE OF HARTFORD, 1872-1921

At the time of the division of Hartford diocese in 1872 there were over four thousand pupils in the schools conducted by the Sisters of Mercy and about three hundred orphans cared for in the Homes. The number of Sisters in the Community was equally divided, seventy established in each diocese. St. Catherine's Convent, Hartford, became the Mother-house of the Sisters of Mercy in Hartford diocese, Sister Mary Pauline Maher was chosen superior. St. Xavier's Convent, Providence, remained the Mother-house of the Sisters in the newly-created diocese, Sister M. Bernard Reed, Superior.

Although there was no dearth of vocations to the Mercy Sisterhood from its foundation in New England yet the rapid expansion of parish schools was so steady as to admit of no interlude for the proper religious training of young teachers for the new missions. To relieve this constant pressure, the ever renewed demand for more teachers, Bishop McFarland appealed to the Sisters of Mercy in Ennis, Ireland, for a sufficient number of Sisters to establish two missions in the diocese, one at Middletown, the other in Meriden, Connecticut. In answer to the appeal, a reinforcement of eleven Sisters left Ennis, April 26, 1872, and arrived in New York on May 6, where they were met by Very Rev. Father Walsh who escorted them to the Convent of Mercy on Houston Street. On the following day they set out for their future home in Connecticut. Their arrival was a marked contrast to the quiet entrance of the Sisters into New England twenty-one years previous. A large concourse of people awaited them at the depot, in Meriden. Carriages were in readiness, and a band was waiting to furnish music en route to their new Convent-home on Liberty Street. St.

Elizabeth's Convent, Middletown, became the Mother-house of the Ennis foundation. Mother Mary Agnes Healy was the first superior. St. Bridget's Convent, Meriden, remained a branch house of St. Elizabeth's, Middletown, until 1876 when it became an independent Community. Mother Mary Teresa Perry was chosen superior in Meriden. Their first activities were among the poor and the sick of the parish. Instruction classes in Christian Doctrine were also established. In the following September free schools for girls were opened both in Middletown and in Meriden. The opening attendance at Meriden was so large as to call for an additional number of class-rooms. In January, 1875, at the request of Bishop McFarland the Sisters at Meriden established a boy's department with two hundred pupils in attendance. Subsequently, they visited and formed classes in Christian Doctrine in the State Reformatory. The Ennis foundation remained an independent Community until 1911 when, at the request of ecclesiastical authorities, all communities of the Mercy Sisterhood in Connecticut were united.

One of the first cares of Bishop McFarland after fixing the episcopal residence in Hartford 1872 was the erection of a St. Joseph's Convent, a large building on Farmington Avenue, the most desirable section of the city. The building was completed in 1874 and for some time served the double purpose of Sisters' Chapel and pro-Cathedral.

During this year, 1874, the headquarters of the Sisters of Mercy, and the Academy were transferred from St. Catherine's to Mount St. Joseph's, Farmington Ave. The Academy remained here until 1908 when it was transferred to Hamilton Heights.

In 1872 the Mother-house in Hartford, St. Catherine's, sent out two foundations, the first opened the parish school, St. Patrick's, in Thompsonville, a manufacturing town of prospective growth; the second took charge of St. Patrick's School in Norwich, also a manufacturing town of over sixteen thousand inhabitants (1870 census).

On August 18, 1873, a Community from Hartford, opened a Convent and School, St. Michael's, in Westerly, R. I. The church property is, however, in the Hartford diocese, situated on the Connecticut side of the Pawtucket River, the boundary line between the two states. A Convent and School, founded from Hartford, were opened in Putnam in 1874, and placed under the patronage of Our Blessed Lady, receiving the title, "Notre Dame." The next foundation from Hartford was made April 22, 1876, when St. John's Parish School was opened in Stamford, situated on Long Island Sound. The next morning, April 23, the first Mass in their Convent Chapel was celebrated by Bishop Galberry. The absence of factories in Stamford, in 1876, had its advantage in the educational line. The School year was prolonged and higher courses were given at St. John's than in many other Parish Schools under the care of the Sisters.

In 1878, Mount St. Augustine,* a Seminary for small boys, in charge of the Sisters of Mercy from Hartford was opened in West Hartford. This Institution was erected on a tract, containing thirty-three acres, known as, "St. Augustine's Villa." A second tract containing eighty-five acres was purchased in West Hartford for the purpose of erecting a Home for the Aged and Infirm. In 1880 this building was completed, blessed and placed under the patronage of Mary the Mother of God and given the title, "St. Mary's." This Institution shelters and has given a home to hundreds, who, otherwise, would be destitute. The land surrounding these Institutions is fragrant with spruce and pine, and fruitful in abundance with the products of the farm.

* So named in loving memory of Bishop Galberry, who died October 10, 1878, while on his way to Villanova College, to obtain a much-needed rest. He was stricken with a hemorrhage and died in the Grand Union Hotel, New York. He established *The Connecticut Catholic* in 1876; since then Hartford Diocese has continued to publish a Catholic paper.

In 1876 came the first invitation to the Sisters in Hartford to open a Parish School in New Britain, a town situated about ten miles south-west of Hartford. Perhaps in no other town in Connecticut was there more need of religious instruction and Christian Education than in New Britain, a busy industrial center, where religion and Christian education are the necessary controlling factors.

St. Bridget's, which had been made the Mother-house of the Meriden Community in 1876, sent out in 1878 its first foundation, St. Mary's, Norwalk, a town on Long Island Sound noted for its factories and fisheries.

Two years later, 1880, St. Elizabeth's Convent, Middletown, established in Bridgeport its first foundation, St. Mary's, St. Joseph's Convent and school were opened in Fairfield in 1882 from the same Mother-house, St. Elizabeth's. During this year, 1882, the Mother-house at Hartford, inaugurated St. Francis' Convent, school and Orphanage in New Haven. The following year, 1883, St. Joseph's Convent and school were established in Lakeville.

The following are the statistics of 1883 as listed by the Catholic Directory.

HARTFORD, CONN.

Mount St. Joseph's Boarding School and Academy.	}	Boarders.....	70
St. Augustine's "Preparatory Boarding School for Boys.—This institution is intended for the education of young boys between the ages of three and twelve years. In it they receive all the motherly care of the good Sisters. It is situated about two miles from the city of Hartford."		Pupils	18

WATERBURY

Academy and Boarding School of the Immaculate Conception	}	No. of pupils not given
--	---	-------------------------

WINSTED

Academy and Boarding School of St. Margaret of Cortona	}	Pupils	30
--	---	--------------	----

BALTIC

Academy and Boarding School of the Holy Family. (French, Belgian and English)

MIDDLETOWN

Academy of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Pupils 75

E. BRIDGEPORT

St. Joseph's Academy Pupils 218

FUTNAM

Academy of Our Lady of Perpetual Succor Pupils 25

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

These schools are all graded and free

HARTFORD

St. Joseph's Cathedral School Pupils 480
St. Patrick's Girls 355
St. Peter's Pupils 679

NEW HAVEN

St. Patrick's Pupils 800

THOMPSONVILLE

St. Joseph's Pupils 300

STAFFORD SPRINGS

St. Edward's Pupils 150

NEW BRITAIN

St. Mary's Pupils 1045

MIDDLETOWN

St. John's Pupils 300

STAMFORD

St. John's Pupils 370

FUTNAM

St. Mary's Pupils 500

MERIDEN

St. Rose's Pupils 650

NORWALK

St. Mary's Pupils 400

NORWICH

St. Patrick's Pupils 275

FAIR HAVEN

St. Francis' Pupils 607

FAIRFIELD

St. Thomas' Pupils 130

ASYLUMS

NEW HAVEN

St. Francis' Orphan Asylum for Boys and Girls	{	Orphans.....	208
		Boys	105
		Girls	103

HARTFORD

St. Mary's Home for the Destitute and Aged	{	Number of inmates not given	
Total Number of Academies			8
" " " Parochial Schools			15
" " " Orphan Asylums			2
" " " Children, including orphans under the care of the Sisters of Mercy			7685

During the twenty-five years which followed, 1883 to 1908, eighteen new foundations were made in the State of Connecticut: eight from the Mother-house in Hartford, six from Meriden and four from Middletown. Foundations from Hartford, were: St. Augustine's Convent and school, Bridgeport, 1884. St. Peter's Convent and school, Danbury in 1885; Sacred Heart Convent and school, New Haven, 1895; St. Mary's Convent and school, Norwich, 1903. In 1906 two foundations were made: Sacred Heart Convent and school, Waterbury, and St. Mary's Convent and school, East Hartford. In 1907 a Convent and school (The Immaculate Conception) were established in Hartford.

Meriden foundation: St. Joseph's Convent and School, in 1885. Two foundations were made in 1886, Sacred Heart Convent and school, Ansonia, and St. Teresa's Convent and school, Rockville; St. Mary's Convent and school were opened in New London in 1892; St. Francis' Convent and school, Torrington in 1893, and an Academy of Our Lady of Mercy was inaugurated in Milford, 1905. Between 1886 and 1897, four foundations were established from St. Elizabeth's, Middletown: St. Mary's Convent and school, Greenwich 1886; St. Mary's Convent and school, Portland 1887; St. Mary's Convent and school, Newtown, 1895; and St. Francis' Convent and school, Naugatuck, 1897.

Mount St. Joseph's Academy was transferred in 1907 from Farmington avenue to Hamilton Heights. This splendid Institution with its modernly-equipped laboratories is one of the finest Schools in the State. The Academy of Our Lady of Mercy, Laurelton Hall, Milford, is also abreast of the best in its educational advantages. The curriculum in both academies embraces the regular four years' High-school course, together with the usual Commercial group. They are affiliated with the Catholic University and confer both High-school and Commercial diplomas. The graduates from both Academies are admitted to the State Normal school without further qualification test.

In 1911, after much consideration on the part of ecclesiastical superiors, it was deemed expedient that the three distinct communities of the Mercy Sisterhood in the State of Connecticut be united. This union was effected in September of 1911. The newly-united communities number in all six hundred and ninety members. Prior to the union, Hartford Community comprised four hundred and sixty-four members; St. Bridget's, Meriden, had one hundred and thirty-four, while St. Elizabeth's, Middletown numbered ninety-two. In 1913, the Novitiate was transferred from Farmington Avenue to St. Augustine's, West Hartford.

From 1912 to 1915, seven foundations were established from Hartford: St. Joseph's Convent and school, South Norwalk, 1912; St. Charles' Convent and school, Bridgeport, 1913. In 1914, a Home for Infants and Maternity Hospital were established in West Hartford. Connected with the Hospital is a training school for Nurses. During the year 1921, there were two hundred and ten infants cared for in the Home, and sixty-nine patients in the hospital during the past year were attended by seventeen pupil-nurses. During the year, 1914, Holy Trinity Convent and school were opened in Wallingford. Three Convents and schools were established in 1915: St. Rose's, New Haven; St. Margaret's, Waterbury, and St. Joseph's, Meriden.

The Mercy Institute in the diocese of Hartford, the largest Community of Sisters of Mercy in the United States has at present, 1921, seven hundred and fifty members. From its inauguration, as an independent Community in 1872, it has confined its foundations to the State of Connecticut and has channeled its energies chiefly along the educational line. For some years prior to the opening of the Sisters' College * in Washington, D. C. the Sisters awakened to the fact that years of experience in teaching did not concern the public so much as the certification of teachers. With the end in view, to advance and standardize their work, they availed themselves of the Summer Courses given at Harvard University. At the opening of the Sisters' College, 1917, the Community sent many of its members to the Summer School, some of whom remained until they secured their college degree. The statistics * following show the fruition of sixty-nine years of labor in the diocese:

<i>Schools</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
St. Augustine's Novitiate, Normal Training School—		
Summer School, East St., West Hartford, Conn.	} Novices..... Postulants ...	35 17
<hr/>		
Mt. St. Joseph's AcademyReligious, 18		
High School, Commercial		130
High School		82
Hamilton Heights, Hartford, Conn., affiliated with Catholic University		

* During the past decade the Sisters College, Washington, D. C. has enrolled 1,917 students representing 42 religious orders. Of this number 313, the highest representation of any one order, are Sisters of Mercy.—See *The Sisters' College Messenger*, April, 1922.

* Taken from the Catholic Directory 1921, and the "Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools 1921". Records from Hartford give over twenty-three thousand children in thirty-seven parochial grammar schools.

Academy of Our Lady of Mercy

High School

Commercial High School

Elementary High School

Milford, Conn., affiliated with

Catholic University Religious, 10; Lay, 1..... 170

St. Joseph's Cathedral	Religious, 17	601	} Boys and Girls
Immaculate Conception	Religious, 17; Lay, 1	829	
St. Patrick's	Religious, 19	725	
St. Peter's	Religious, 15; Lay, 1	853	

ANSONIA

Assumption Religious, 13; Lay, 1..... 351

BRIDGEPORT

St. Augustine's	Religious, 18; Lay, 1	822
St. Charles'	Religious, 11; Lay, 1	527
St. Mary's	Religious, 8	351
Sacred Heart	Religious, 15; Lay, 1	714
St. Peter's	Religious, 20; Lay, 1	896

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS HARTFORD GRADES EIGHT

Schools *Teachers* *Pupils*

GREENWICH

St. Mary's Religious, 10 467

GROTON

Sacred Heart Religious, Est. 3..... Est. 100

LAKEVILLE

St. Mary's Religious, 3 94

MERIDEN

St. Joseph's Religious, 9 342

St. Rose's Religious, 9 407

MIDDLETOWN

St. Elizabeth's Religious, 13; Lay, 1..... 682

NAUGATUCK

St. Francis' Religious, 11; Lay, 1..... 448

NEW BRITAIN

St. Mary's Religious, 25; Lay, 1..... 1221

NEW HAVEN

St. Francis', Grades 9 Religious, 15; Lay, 1..... 747

St. Patrick's Religious, 17 709

St. Rose's Religious, 7; Lay, 1..... 406

Sacred Heart Religious, 15; Lay, 1..... 670

NEW LONDON
St. Mary's Religious, 11; Lay, 1 594

NORWALK
St. Mary's Religious, 10; Lay, 1 522

NORWICH
St. Mary's Religious, 8 300
St. Patrick's Religious, 9 380

PORTLAND
St. Mary's Religious, 5 244

ROCKVILLE
St. Teresa's Religious, 7 317

SOUTH NORWALK
St. Joseph's Religious, 8 269

STAFFORD SPRINGS
St. Edward's Religious, 4 245

STAMFORD
St. John's Religious, 16 743

THOMPSONVILLE
St. Joseph's Religious, 9 409

TORRINGTON
St. Francis' Religious, 16; Lay, 1 804

WALLINGFORD
Holy Trinity Religious, 8 368

WATERBURY
St. Margaret's Religious, 8 303
Sacred Heart Religious, 8 412

WESTERLY (R. I.)
St. Michael's Religious, 5 196

St. Francis' Orphan Asylum
and Elementary School,
New Haven Religious, 9 440

St. Agnes' Home cares for, at the present time (1921), two hundred
and ten infants.

Number of Sisters in Community	750
" " Sister-teachers	460
" " Lay Teachers	16
" " Academies and High Schools	2
" " Parochial Schools	37
" " Orphanages	2
" " Children in Schools	20,942
" " Orphans	625

Total number of children, including orphans, in the
Diocese of Hartford under the care of the Sisters
of Mercy 21,152

SISTER MARY EULALIA HERRON.

St. Mary's Convent, Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.



Records
of the
**American Catholic
Historical Society**
of
Philadelphia

WITH WHICH IS COMBINED
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

Published Quarterly by the Society

725 SPRUCE STREET, PHILADELPHIA

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American Catholic Historical Society.

\$2.00 PER YEAR

SINGLE NUMBER, 50 CENTS

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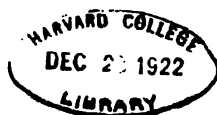
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VOL. XXXIII

SEPTEMBER, 1922.

No. 3

THE REV. CHARLES IGNATIUS HAMILTON CARTER,
V.G. (1803-1879)

BY ELLA M. E. FLICK

Philadelphians are accustomed to speak of historic old St. Mary's on Fourth Street above Spruce Street as among the city's most interesting landmarks. After the manner of Carlyle we might say that it has echoed to the tramping of many generations close to its gates. It was present at the growth and expansion of a great industrial city. The late Martin I. J. Griffin said, in his *Story of St. Mary's* that one could go to St. Mary's graveyard and, compiling the history of those whose ashes made the very ground one tread upon, write the history of our country.

St. Mary's played no unimportant rôle in the early days of the Catholic Church in America. Up until the nineteenth century it was the most important congregation in the United States. Philadelphia was once the capitol of the nation, St. Mary's, the City cathedral. The old church still bears the marks of splendor and glory. Memories dear to the hearts of historians haunt those old walls—

memories glorious, hollowed, fair as the sun—memories troubled and sad.

Through the years the points of historical and religious interest centred in St. Mary's have been well gathered, told and retold. Not so the story of her priests. Many connect the entire eighteenth century with the sad period known as the Harold-Hogan-Conwell schism, with its history of strife, disobedience, and apostacy. St. Mary's was the battleground whereon took place that gigantic struggle from which resulted little good and much harm. Yet over against the apostles of darkness God raised up many apostles of light. Their life stories somehow got lost by the wayside.

Very little is heard about the men whom duty called to follow in the wake of the Rev. Wm. Hogan, to rectify the wrong impressions, heal the wounds, undo the evil, strengthen the weak, encourage the good. It was not the task of a day. These men of God did their work silently, assiduously, by word and example, in season and out of season, striving to save as many as possible of those who had met with spiritual shipwreck.

We shall have occasion in the course of this and subsequent biographical sketches to bring to light some few of the hidden apostles of those troubled times. The convert priests deserve a special mention. Only after years do they stand out—Carter, Cooper, Stroble, rainbows after the storm.

The story of Father Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter V. G., convert, priest, vicar-general and administrator ad interim of the Diocese of Philadelphia, is the story of one whom we might call an ordinary priest who lived, worked and died in a very trying period. There is nothing very unusual in his life. He was neither extraordinarily brilliant nor uncommonly popular. There have been hundreds

like him in every land, in every century—men working in God's service whose actual work does not impress us because we take for granted that they should be just what they are, and should do only what they are doing.

Father Carter's career is not unknown. A historical sketch by Francis Reuss appeared in these *Records* some twenty years back. Making use of these facts as a background, with the aid of the good memory of some of his nearest and dearest friends, we present a new picture. Rather a new light is thrown upon the old picture, showing up things that have long been there, but that lay hidden from our eyes. "To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die."

A sketch of the Rev. Charles Carter, the priest, as revealed in his everyday duties at St. John the Baptist's, Manayunk, at St. Mary's and later at the Church of the Assumption, form a character study that is exceedingly interesting; the more so, because it is a study of action rather than words. No doubt he considered himself a very ordinary, prosaic, practical man. His life-book was worked out on schedule. But not all the system in the world could cover over the poetry and romance that peep out between the covers.

The motive power in Father Carter's life was the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Interwoven into his zeal for the church was an intense love of the Mother of God. We get a glimpse of this love in his vow to build a church in her honor, a vow which materialized later in the beautiful church of the Assumption, silent witness to-day to his promise kept. The peculiar circumstances under which this vow was made, his tender care in carrying it out, lends a softer tone to a character sometimes considered severe. This love explains in a way the blending of worker and dreamer, strength and almost feminine softness of heart.

In speaking of Father Carter one of his fellow workers, looking back upon the past, said of him: "He was a pious, zealous priest, whose great characteristic was punctuality and little regard for modern fads. In his time, his most praiseworthy habits of life and administration made him the *bête noire* of his assistants and the clergy in general, as well as of the people who had not the wisdom to appreciate sterling qualities."

His story is one of contrasts. Known in life as a man of wealth, he died with hardly enough to cover the funeral expenses. His will contained two bequests: a watch to his nephew, his books to St. Charles Seminary. Born in affluence and luxury he lived so sparingly as to be considered shabby. A story is told of a visit he once paid to his friend Mr. P. Brady who kept a store at Front and Chestnut Streets. On this day Mr. Brady was back in the counting-room and Father Carter surprised him at work: "Ain't you ashamed to wear such a shabby, dilapidated, old high hat when you make calls?" said his friend, looking him over. Father Carter smiled in his peculiar way, but made no answer. He placed his old hat on the rack with the others and pretended to ignore so personal a remark. Later in the afternoon Mr. Brady went to get his hat to go over to the Custom House. His hat was gone and in its place rested Father Carter's dowdy old "stove-pipe". It is related that he went to the custom house in his office cap, but remembering his remarks of the early afternoon he smiled as he went.

Those who knew Father Carter in late life picture him to us a rather frail dignified old gentleman. Tall, erect, soldierly in bearing; milk-white hair, tight thin-lipped mouth, piercing eyes that looked through and beyond one, chisled features, long tapering hands. He was handsome. He was also priestly.

Going back over his life we get very little, as far as

character manifestation goes, from his early years. He was born September 23, 1803, in Lincoln Co., Kentucky, son of Colonel Charles Carter, army officer, English by birth. The details of his childhood are not given us. We are told that his elder sister Caroline married a Mr. Lancaster, a devout Catholic, and entered the Church. Charles in later life attributed his first leaning towards Catholicity to Caroline and her pious household. Their evening prayers, in which even the servants joined, greatly impressed the boy. At twenty he was baptized. In 1826, in his twenty-fourth year, he entered Bishop David's Seminary at Bardstown, Louisville, Kentucky.

So little is given us concerning these years that we can follow them only in sequence of date. There are a great many things we would like very much to hear about. In connection with his birth we would be interested to hear just how he came by his second name—Ignatius. How well it suited his station, parentage, and soldierly character we cannot help but marvel. Also we would like to know something of the mother of such a boy.

Just who prepared and baptized young Charles seems to be an unsettled question; some say Bishop Flaget and others Bishop Kenrick. It appears that Bishop Kenrick was very friendly with the young man throughout his college and seminary course. It was through him he entered the seminary. In the life of Bishop Conwell we read: "At the consecration dinner at St. Joseph's College, where Bishop Kenrick had served for nine years, one of the speakers was Mr. Charles Carter, a seminarian, who afterwards was attached to the Philadelphia diocese as assistant at St. Mary's, and afterwards as founder of the Church of the Assumption. In his address he said: "To you, venerable Prelate of Philadelphia, we offer the warmest congratulations that Heaven has favored your declining years with such an able efficient coadjutor." Again, we hear of Bishop Kenrick's

visits to young Carter at Bardstown in 1827 and at St. Mary's Seminary in 1830. It was he who arranged for his transfer to Philadelphia and ordained him at St. Mary's Church in 1832. Throughout these years and the five that follow, Bishop Kenrick was in constant touch with his convert, whom we find assisting him at the various exercises throughout the diocese. In his own diary¹ we meet the name Carter many times: "1835, June, twenty-fifth day. I went by stage to Lancaster. My companion on the way was the Rev. Charles Carter, pastor of the church of St. John the Baptist in the town of Manayunk." ——— "1836. Aug. Nineteenth day. I started out on sacred visitation with the Rev. Charles Ignatius Carter as travelling companion. After passing over a distance of twenty miles by boat, which was drawn by steam, we landed at the town of Bristol; then by carriage, also drawn by steam, over a distance of ten miles, we reached the town of Morrisville. The remainder of the journey, then, of fifty miles to the town of Easton we made by the ordinary public stage coach."

Father Carter in early life was of very delicate health. In 1837, with his fatherly concern, the Bishop gave him leave of absence to travel in Europe in the hope that the ocean voyage and rest from active duty would restore his strength. We get a glimpse of the feeling between the Bishop and his young priest from Bishop Kenrick's letter of January 31, 1837, to Dr. Paul Cullen, Rector of the Irish College, Rome, introducing Father Carter, whose "sincere piety will, I am confident, insure him your esteem as it has won the affections of your esteemed friend in Christ". This friendship is most interesting to follow. Like Father Carter's own life it is revealed to us only in dates and jottings of passing events. In 1838 he appointed Father

¹ *Kenrick Diary and Visitation Records.*

Carter procurator of the seminary. In 1841, when the Bishop retired from the pastorate of St. Mary's he named him his successor.

We get our first intimate knowledge of Father Carter's devotion to the Mother of God on his return voyage from Europe. Up until this period in his life we have but dwelt in signs and symbols. It is like coming upon him for the first time—catching him unawares. The raconteur, Mr. Francis Harold Duffee, born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1810, was altar boy at St. Mary's during the Hogan schism. He contributed the little incident to the *I. C. B. U. Journal* of January 1885:²

"There was, I have always thought, one incident in the life of Father Carter worthy of remembrance and preservation. I had it from the Rev. gentleman's own lips, while paying him an evening's visit to which I was kindly invited.

"During his voyage home to this city, from Liverpool, on board of one of the Trans-Atlantic steamers, the vessel ran aground on an unknown and submerged rock in the Atlantic ocean, near the coast of Canada. The shock and surprise to the captain and passengers at finding themselves in this perilous condition, so unlooked-for on their part, unnerved them to an extraordinary degree.

"It was during the night the occurrence took place, and the gloom and fright among the captain, crew and passengers, was fearful to contemplate. The submerged rock upon which the vessel grounded was surrounded on all sides with deep water, that only added to the prevailing apprehension, for it proclaimed the possibility of the sinking of the ship after she was thumped to pieces, and released to sink in fathoms of water. The horror of that night was one the Reverend gentleman told me he never could forget. It was a solemn time for meditation. He at once resolved

² *Records of A. C. H. Soc.*

to pray earnestly to the Almighty for aid and protection in this hour of his deepest calamity, promising and vowing to build in commemoration a memorial church to hallow the event of his miraculous preservation. This religious vow was fervently made, and his faith in God's goodness was not misplaced. The vessel was released from the rock, with but slight injury, soon after the utterance of his prayers, and came safely into port."

Father Carter redeemed his vow. The Church of the Assumption, Twelfth and Spring Garden Streets, Philadelphia, stands as a memorial of God's mercy and deliverance. However, many well filled years intervened between the day of the solemn promise and the day of its fulfillment.

It is in these ten years we see Father Carter at his best—Carter the young curate; Carter, the parish priest; Carter, pastor of old St. Mary's. In a letter written January 10, 1842, by Bishop Kenrick to Mr. Frenaye, one pictures Father Carter longing to fulfil his promise, his first steps towards that fulfilment, and the reasons for the delay: "I have in mind," says the Bishop, "to give this appointment (pastor at St. Mary's) to the Rev'd Mr. Carter. This appears to be the proper solution. He, indeed, wishes very much to have, as a church, a building on Tenth street below Spruce, which was erected by the Congregationalists; but I have absolutely refused. The plan to build a cathedral church, which I suggested (to Mr. Carter) on this occasion, cannot be realized during the time of difficulties which we now experience."³

Father Carter was a model priest. Holy orders became him as a crown its king. One never separated man and minister. That was as he wished. It was a difficult period in which to work. His influence on the day in which he lived and worked, his life among his fellow priests,

³ *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 140.

are shown in his activities in the diocese. The records of those days name him a popular but not a spectacular preacher. The earliest mention of his preaching is found in the *Catholic Herald* of January 10, 1833.⁴ In an account of the Christmas celebration held in the Church of St. John's in Manayunk in 1832 we get as representative a picture of Father Carter as could be gathered from any period of his entire life. The writer, a visitor in the neighborhood, was very much impressed with the young priest. His letter, after speaking of his invitation to spend the day "in the country", the tedious ride in the Manayunk coach, runs as follows:

" We were aroused very early the next morning by the sound [he wrote] of the bell, and shortly after 5 o'clock repaired to the church, on entering which I was struck with the neatness of the interior of the building—of the altar, and of its decorations, a part of which had, as my friend told me, been received only a few days before from an unknown benefactor. The service commenced by the "Te Deum" chaunted by a full choir—immediately after which the Rev. Charles Carter, the pastor, commenced the celebration of High Mass in presence of a crowded congregation.—This gentleman, a native of Kentucky, as I was informed, became a convert to the Catholic faith about five years ago, and entered into holy orders only a few months since.

" a group of twelve young ladies dressed in white robes with white veils over their heads, occupied the pews nearest to the altar; immediately behind them sat four young gentlemen, who together with the former, were about to make their first communion. The sermon, as usual on this day, treated of the nativity of our Blessed Lord in an impressive and interesting manner, inculcated the necessity

⁴ *Records of A. C. H. Society*, vol. xxx, p. 335.

of imitating that humility of which He had given us so striking an example. When the time of the Communion had arrived, the pastor turned round to the little flock, whom it appeared he had been for several months preparing for this solemnity—he exhorted them never to lose sight of the great action they were about to perform—to consider it as one of the most important of their lives, whose direction would probably be in a great measure governed by the manner in which that action was performed—and never to stain the innocence with which, he trusted, they were then clothed. His address drew tears from his young hearers, and I could observe that the same effect was produced on many of their parents. The holy sacrament was then administered to several persons, including the first communicants, a number that appeared to me very large for the congregation of Manayunk. The pastor again turned to his little flock, and recommending them most earnestly to the protection of the Almighty in all the changes to which they would be exposed in their passage through life, took a moving and affectionate leave of them. The music during these ceremonies was solemn and appropriate. The High Mass being ended, was followed by a low one, at the termination of which the congregation dispersed, appearing deeply impressed with the scene they had just witnessed and in which so many had participated. Hearty greetings and good wishes were exchanged at the Church door, reminding me of the salutations wherewith the first Christians greeted one another at the termination of the Agape. Joy and lively pleasure beamed in the eyes of the younger members of the congregation, who with that lively zest peculiar to children were going home to receive or to enjoy their Christmas presents—free, for one day, from the yoke of factory labour. On my return to the church, at 10.30 o'clock, I again found it full, and the pastor engaged in administering the Sacrament of Baptism to a middle-aged

female. After he had received her into the Church, he enlarged on the advantages conferred on her; the great blessings she had just become heir to; but solemnly warned her of the obligations she had contracted, which he earnestly charged her never to lose sight of.

“ Scarcely was this ceremony ended when a young lady, supported by a friend of her own age, approached the railing of the Sanctuary. There, in an audible voice, rendered somewhat tremulous by emotion, she declared her intention to abjure the errors she had been attached to, and to return to the Catholic Church, in whose bosom I understood, she was born, but from which she had been seduced by false and deceptive lights.—Before receiving her recantation, the pastor, somewhat moved, no doubt, by the recollection that it was not long since he himself had found a refuge from his doubts and uncertainties in the same Saving Ark, addressed the convert, exhorted her to think seriously of the step she was about to take, and to proceed no further, unless she felt perfectly convinced of her errors, and of the truth of every tenet of the faith she was about to embrace, her conviction of which should be so strong as to lead her, if necessary, to seal it with her blood. The young lady, still persisting, proceeded to read the Athanasian creed, and to make a full profession of faith. The most breathless silence prevailed in the assembly during the ceremony, at the end of which the choir commenced the solemn invocation in the words of the Kyrie eleison (Lord have mercy on us), and the priest for the third time, offered up the holy sacrifice. The music differed in some parts from that of the morning. At the gospel, the pastor again addressed the flock, and after dwelling on the subject of the festival, made some observations on the species of persecution which he had reason to fear would be practised on the young lady who had made her recantation by some of her former associates, reminding her of the saying of our Lord, “ Blessed

are ye when men shall persecute you and say all manner of evil of you," &c.

"The religious service of the day was closed by Vespers, and Benediction in the evening. These being ended, the pastor assembled the select flock, who for the first time, he had that morning fed with the sacred body of our Lord, and retiring with them in a body, gave them, as I was told, a collation."

Father Carter was a born teacher. He always had a lesson in view, an evil to correct. The world of his day, and the world of today, listened to his voice. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* (vol. xiv, p. 228.) quotes him as observing that the method of St. Ignatius was wide and free, since "one of the first rules laid down by St. Ignatius for the director of a retreat is, that he is to adapt the exercises to the age, the capacity, the strength of the person about to perform them".

In his time the extravagant dress and amusements of the period cut into his very soul. St. Mary's was the home of wealth. Society lived at her very gates. Father Carter, the pastor of such a flock, took his responsibility very seriously. No matter what the occasion, nor who the preacher was, he got up to say his "few words". "Moderation in dress" was almost a bye-word. One fashion that called forth his wrath was the huge buckles worn by the ladies of the day. They jangled against the seats and were a source of distraction. Also they scratched his fine old walnut pews. He talked so much and so earnestly about the buckles, that the smart set, who moved in those circles, took up the cry and named them "Father Carter Buckles."

Another arrow that pierced his priestly heart was the late-comer to Mass. No priest ever had a bigger bump of punctuality than Father Carter. 10.30 was 10.30 and not 10.45 or 11 o'clock. Again it was a question of "a few words on the proper behaviour inside the church". When

warmed to his subject he would talk on and on, bringing up all the old grievances—"talking in God's temple, distracting the faithful who had come to pray". God's House was very near to his heart. His sense of reverence had never lost its first childish hush. Before his congregation his words were but echoes of his own life and example. For him it was God and His glory, first, last and always.

No church in the United States was better cared for than his church. The beauty of God's house was his first concern. In 1845 St. Mary's was newly frescoed. Marachesi was the artist. Upon the ceiling was a copy of Father Carter's favorite subject—the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. At the four corners were the Evangelists. Marachesi was very well thought of as an artist. Old clippings of those years are full of his name and fame, with frequent notice of his exhibitions, in different parts of the city.

The music at old St. Mary's was most elaborate even on ordinary days, and the pastor spared neither thought nor money in its service. At the formal opening, after the re-decoration of the church in 1845 Des Santos Mass, with Prof. Des Santos himself as organist, was sung by the choir. On another occasion we read that Beethoven's new mass was sung, for the first time in the city, with orchestral accompaniment, under the direction of Mr. B. Cross. In the old minute book of St. Mary's it is recorded, in the year 1847, that \$100, for incidental expenses of choir, and \$300 for sanctuary, be placed annually in the hands of the pastor.

In 1844—during the time of the riots—Father Carter's courage is well illustrated, as well as his strength of mind and will. His examples of fearlessness are manifold. On that memorable May night when the mob threatened St. Mary's, Father Carter came out and stood among his people in cassock and biretta. He answered the angry throng in words of defiance. He told them that he, the pastor of

St. Mary's, would deliver the keys of his church to no one, save his Bishop, and that if they ever entered that church it would be over his dead body.

His fearlessness and fire and zeal were well known among his people. Throughout that dangerous year, when the sight of a priest called forth insult, and often missile, he continued to perform his priestly duties publicly. All hours of the day he was seen moving in and out of the parish, visiting the sick, cheering the depressed. His very presence renewed their courage and restored their morale. Reuss in his account of the period says that "his fine, tall, soldierly carriage cowed the native American mob".

Those who saw him in action during these trying days saw only one side of his character. His dignity was balanced by humility, strength of mind and soul, by a child-like heart held in check only by the wisdom of manhood. The many who knew his austerity of manner, his frugality of life, early hours of prayer, knew too his life among God's poor. It is here Father Carter the priest best revealed himself.

His hobby, if we could say he had one, was the poor—the poor in the city slums, the poor in the shape of little children in the asylums. He often said that if the rich were as liberal as his poor, the church would have no money troubles. He found such genuine joy in his daily round of duty that he felt no need of recreation of any other variety. If he took a walk, it was in the direction of some sick child of the neighborhood, or to some soul in distress. Sometimes it would be towards the hospital, where he would spend an hour or so in the wards, singling out the Catholics, getting them to talk to him, to tell him their sorrows, and finally their sins. On very special occasions his recreation might take the form of a visit to a friend. A part of every day he spent in his school, getting acquainted with his children, watching them at work and at play, sharing their simple joys and winning their love.

During these years of strenuous work, Father Carter's vow was ever before him. Every now and then it forces itself into view. The first inkling we get of the new church in the district of Spring Garden Street, appears in the *Catholic Herald* of May 30, 1839:

"One Monday evening, May 27, 1839, a meeting was held at St. John's church, Bishop Kenrick in the chair . . . and a resolution was adopted to the effect that a church was needed in that district . . . that at least one-third of the body of the church be left free with benches for the poor and strangers—that we appeal to the liberality of Catholics, etc. *E. J. Sourin*, Sec." Under the same date the *Herald* published a letter signed "C". This letter elaborated on the idea, dwelling on the long-felt need of such a church, explaining the boon it would be, especially to the children of the neighborhood. That was in 1839. Father Carter did not get this church on Spring Garden Street until 1847!

On Sunday May 21, 1848, Bishop Alexander Smith, of the diocese of Glasgow, Scotland, laid the corner-stone of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Bishop Kenrick preached. The promise to our Blessed Mother was accomplished.

In an account of that day the new church is referred to as the "handsomest in the city". Seeing that the desire of his heart was about to be realized, Father Carter spared neither time nor money. Concerts, musicals, bazaars were given to raise the necessary funds. One interesting story is given⁵ about a fair held for this purpose. The witness, Andrew Jackson Reilly, a young man at the time, was one of the participants at this fair. On the wall was a lithograph of the purposed edifice. Its beautiful Gothic architecture caught and held his eye. Spellbound, he stood before it, thinking many curious thoughts. Father Carter

⁵ *Records of A. C. H. Soc.*, vol. xiii, p. 67.

spying him there came over and placing his hand on his shoulder, asked very kindly: "Well my boy, what do you think of that?"—"I think is very handsome," the boy replied, "much superior to anything ever attempted on a Catholic church in Philadelphia."—Then, pausing a moment, he went on:—"But are you not very extravagant, Father. Some would be content with one steeple, but you are to have two." Father Carter's reply is best taken word for word as Mr. Reilly gives it to us:

"Now, my boy, I will give you a reason, though 'tis not my rule. When Benjamin Franklin went to fly his kite, he, living near Second and Race Streets, directed the boy to carry it out the Ridge Road to Pegg's Run, where there was a blacksmith shop, which still remains. The great American philosopher had a workman affix an iron point on the kite, and with the assistance of the boy he raised it in the air. Having it well steadied, he tied the string to a post under a shed, used to tie horses while being shod, operating with the silk cord and key to convey the electric fluid to the leyden jar, and thus bottled the lighting. The kite hovered immediately above the site where the church is to be erected, but as no man can say positively the actual spot, I propose to put up two spires, so that we may say somewhere between these points, happened the most heroic act ever performed in the interest of science." Andrew Jackson Reilly, grown to manhood, used to pass that same church every morning and evening to and from his business. Many times, he tells us, did his thoughts turn back to "the great American philosopher and the relator of his great deed—the kindly American priest."

The priest's residence Father Carter built out of his private means. At his death many wondered what became of this "private means". When the record of his charities was made public it was no longer a cause of wonder, but rather a subject of speculation as to why it lasted as long as it did.

The stories told of money given and small acts rendered would fill a book in itself. Reuss in his notes said of his charity: "To institutions of charity he was generosity itself as long as he had a dollar in his pocket;" and after his death it was said, "The Sisters have lost their best friend". He was a life subscriber to St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, also to the Seminary. In 1841 he established a Dorcas Society at St. Mary's. In 1848—the time of the famine in Ireland—he was the first priest in the diocese to call a meeting for relief.

Father Carter was particularly charitable to the religious orders then struggling to establish themselves in the Philadelphia diocese.

In 1861, at the request of Bishop Wood, the Irish Sisters of Mercy became affiliated in Philadelphia. The first colony consisting of seven Sisters, under Mother Mary Patricia, occupied a small house in Spring Garden Street, in the neighborhood of the Church of the Assumption, and from 1861 to 1862 took charge of that parish school. The Rev. H. J. Heuser, D.D., in his account of Mother Mary Patricia Waldron, says of those days:

"What the older nuns never told anybody, but what everybody familiar with the parish work in those days knew, was, that Father Cartier, zealous and devout priest though he was, was also an ultra-rigid economist. He not only held that those who had made the vow of holy poverty should keep it, but he believed that it was hurtful to religious to handle any money at all. He himself, a convert to the faith, had been raised on a southern plantation where there were slaves, for it was before the days of emancipation. In common with his class, he inclined towards absolute government, and held that people pledged to obedience were to be allowed little discretion. He used to do his own marketing, and his housekeeper was severely controlled in the use of what he had purchased in the old Spring Garden

Market in front of his house. She, having an Irish heart, got herself into endless trouble by trying to help out 'those poor lambs', the hungry nuns, when she saw their pale sweet faces, and remembered the vigils they kept, in order to furnish them with the means to make ends meet. But Mother Patricia was of noble mold; and there never were any complaints. In later days Father Carter remembered it; for he would come to her at the Broad Street Convent, asking in his brusque way: 'Precisely—do you want any money?' Before he died he gave her a check for ten thousand dollars to pay for the house adjoining the Convent, which she purchased. He wanted to be remembered, he said, when in his grave."

The greatest of his charities, perhaps, he bestowed upon the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, his "favorite children", as he was wont to say. From 1862 until his death in 1879, he became their self-appointed guardian and protector. When the little band of five Sisters, under Mother Mary Xavier (Noble) arrived here from England and opened their house at Towanda, Bradford Co. Pa., they suffered great privations. Father Carter heard of their wants and went to their assistance. He often sent them generous donations. Finally, he gave his school into their care and installed them in a house on Spring Garden Street, next to the church.

When the little community increased, Father Carter set about to purchase a suitable site for a convent, to be used as a novitiate and boarding school. In 1864 he purchased the old Quaker establishment at Sharon Hill and made it over to the Society of the Holy Child Jesus.

The Convent at Sharon Hill was his favorite retreat from the worries and burdens of his busy life. He would slip away and spend two or three days among the Sisters. Each inch of the grounds was familiar to him. A keen observer, he took in at a glance any improvement in house

or grounds made since his last visit and was most lavish with praise. He delighted to look into the future and predict great achievements for this small band.

In 1877 he built the first chapel at Sharon Hill Convent. While it was being built he was a constant visitor. He superintended the work himself, carefully inspecting every new development. The chapel of to-day stands on the same spot which he took such pains to select.

About two years before his death, Father Carter had a vault built in the convent cemetery for his own resting-place when life's voyage was done. It was his own thought and desire to be buried there amidst the children who had been so dear to him in life. Death to him was not at all an unpleasant thought. He had a beautiful monument made in Italy to surmount the vault. During the last years of his life the Sisters frequently found him walking around his last resting-place, saying his rosary. Once a Sister, touched at the sight, tried to draw him away: "It does not make me sad," he said to her, "I think how often the Sisters will come here to pray, and I shall get a share."

Some of the Sisters at Sharon remember him, the gentle old white-haired priest. Many others share the memories and tradition passed down from Sister to Sister. One dear old Sister who knew him personally, was only too glad to talk of him and of the "old times". Speaking of the days at the Assumption she said: "All the big events in his life seemed to centre around Our Blessed Mother—I remember his birthday, the feast of Our Lady of Mercy—what a wonderful time the children had."

"Sister," we remarked, "they say he was 'hard'; some thought him 'peculiar'." It was opening a storehouse of memories, very old but very tender. "Hard" she repeated, thinking it over. "He was hard on wrong-doers—but only until they repented of their evil. His people loved and respected him. They knew he only blamed where blame was

merited. This was fully exemplified at the time of his funeral, when many stories were told by some of the poorer part of his congregation, who had sometimes been rather sharply reprimanded for their misdeeds, and afterwards were recipients of material help—in several cases sorely needed.” Then she added: “It was a surprise to many to find how much good Father Carter had done, known only to God.”

Looking back over those years she gave many instances of his kindness. “We never paid any rent for the house on Spring Garden Street,” she said. “The first months we were there Mother used to send it in to him but he would say: ‘Keep it for the Sisters.’”—“And the convent at Sharon,” she suddenly remembered, brightening at the recollection, “how many little outings we had looking for the site. Only years afterwards we learned how hopeless they were, except to give us a ride in the country.”

“What of his mother?” we asked. “Did Father Carter ever speak of his home and early years?” “Father Carter,” she answered, “dated his life from his entrance into the Catholic Church. He never liked to go back to the days before his conversion. He had a nephew, a priest, who used to come and visit him at the Assumption. He loved him very much and felt very proud of him.”

In the passage near the chapel hangs a picture of Father Carter taken shortly before his death. “What do you think of it,” the little Sister questioned. We stood quite a long time before it. The determined, firm mouth, and the kind eyes challenged one to be very cautious, and very just in passing judgment. “I think I would have liked him,” I parried. “Oh, you would have liked him,” she assured me. “Everybody liked him once they knew him.”

Father Carter died September 17, 1879, aged seventy-six years. Active up until the end, his last entry on the records of his church was August 25, in the marriage re-

gister. His illness, if we might call it such, was very short, very intense. On the night of September 14, 1879, during a wakeful spell, he lighted a match to see the hour. In a second his bed was in flames. His assistants rushed to his rescue and carried him out, but the damage had been done. Three days later he died. His requiem Mass was celebrated in his church by Archbishop Wood. Bishop O'Hara preached the sermon. Out at Sharon he rests, just as he planned, with his dear dead. The Latin inscription, blurred and faded with the years, reads to the effect: "To the memory of Charles Carter, who exercised his priestly functions for about twenty-five years in Philadelphia. He was born in September 1803, in Kentucky, and departed this life in the fear of God, close by the Church of the Assumption of which he had been pastor. He chose this as his final resting-place, in the hope that priests, religious, faithful and holy virgins may help him by their prayers to God."

Father Carter was truly a very spiritual man, and consequently a very humble man. That is one of the reasons we find so little about him. The ordinary everyday records of St. Mary's and of the Assumption reveal hundreds of events of which he must have been the central figure. Yet by name he is not mentioned. When we read in the papers of that day of celebrations held, feasts observed, parish events, it is invariably the church that is named. That he was pastor at the particular time we are left to discover for ourselves. He considered it altogether secondary how much or how little of passing praise came to him, provided God was glorified and souls were being saved.

Coming within a decade of the Rev. Wm. Hogan, Father Carter had learnt the lessons of humility, condescension, and an all-embracing charity. In 1826, when he was entering the seminary, the storm which brought so much ruin in its train, was about to break in all its fury. He knew the story of St. Mary's and had heard much of what

had been said about her priests. Young men feared lest they be among those called to serve there as God's ministers. Bishops drew away from her. "Three gentlemen refused to accept the office of Bishop of that see," we read in the life of Archbishop Hughes. The Rev. Michael De Burgo Egan, nephew of first Bishop of Philadelphia, then President of Mount St. Mary's, Emmittsburg, on February 5, 1827, wrote to Father Hughes, just appointed assistant to St. Mary's: "From my soul I pity you, for I have some idea of Philadelphia."

Knowing all these things, having been a sad onlooker through his seminary career, having been so near and dear to Bishop Kenrick, Father Carter did not come into the fight unprepared. St. Mary's—the most representative part of his lifework, because the hardest—paved the way for the great accomplishments of later years. St. Mary's with her ancient splendor, wealth, fame and aristocracy, made or broke the men who served her. Carter was one of the many who came away bearing a crown. It may have been in a sense a martyr's crown. To spectators who could see only the outer and not the inner man it merely spelled success. That it had been bought at a price which they themselves would not, or were unable to pay, they never stopped to consider. For "'tis but a part we see and not the whole".

The life story of Father Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter is brimful of inspiration to ordinary men and priests of to-day. His faith in time of stress, his eye for God and God's glory, as revealed in his care of his church and of the souls entrusted to his fatherly care, his simplicity and modesty, when the world about him was mad with gait, are chapters in that life story that apply to all of us. Whether we regard him as boy, convert, seminarian or priest we can always read in his private life, letters, teaching and public works, the greatness of small actions well

done, as well as the dignity a pure intention gives to everything. He did not care what anyone thought or said about him, provided his own conscience upheld him. The world considered him queer, perhaps, in many things. Some said he was "hard". His honor, lack of human respect, regard for promises, generosity, were virtues that even his enemies acknowledged. With it all he was sublimely unconscious of anything except duty done, as well as man could do it. What a happy ending for our own book of life, if, some hundred years hence, others, turning its torn and faded pages, can say the same!

WORK OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN THE UNITED STATES, DIOCESE¹ OF NEW YORK, 1846-1921

Seven Sisters of Mercy arrived in New York on May 14, 1846, in response to the earnest personal appeal of Right Rev. Bishop Hughes,² to establish in the great commercial and industrial centre, the Institute of Mercy, the purpose and scope of which are the care of the poor and sick, and the instruction of the ignorant. Realizing the danger alike to faith and morals, consequent on the destitution to which poor immigrant girls³ were exposed in the then rapidly

¹ Raised to metropolitan rank, July 19, 1850.

² Bishop Hughes became the first Archbishop of New York, July 19, 1850. He received the pallium personally from Pius IX at Rome, April 3, 1857. The "School Question" in New York was legally and thoroughly tested under his leadership, 1840. It was due largely to the controversies of this time that school systems in New York and elsewhere were changed and modified.—See Hassard's *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, pp. 223-253.

³ The earliest American organization for the care of immigrants was the Charitable Irish Society of Boston, Mass., established March 17, 1737. In Philadelphia, the Hibernian Society for the immigrants from Ireland, was organized on March 3, 1790.

In 1881, the mission of Our Lady of the Rosary was organized in New York, through the efforts of Charlotte Grace O'Brien, daughter of William Smith O'Brien, the Irish patriot of 1848. Miss O'Brien later became a Catholic. From its opening to the end of 1908, 100,000 girls were cared for gratuitously by the mission. This mission was sustained by voluntary contributions. In 1868 a branch of St. Raphael Society established by the Catholic Congress, held in Trier in 1866, for the protection of German immigrants, was founded in New York. From 1889 to November 1, 1908, 51,719 were cared for by the St. Raphael Society. The present Leo House, an outgrowth of St. Raphael Society is not, however, restricted to German immigrants. A society of St. Raphael was established in New York in 1891 for the protection of Italian immigrants and given in charge of the Sisters of Charity. A Society under secular management was organized in New York in 1901 for the protection of Italian immigrants. In Chicago, 1907, an organization for the care of Dutch and Belgian immigrants was established.

growing cosmopolitan city, Bishop Hughes endeavored to preclude such soul-peril from his diocese by establishing a House of Protection. With this aim in view, to invite Sisters to take charge of the proposed institution, he sailed for Ireland in the year of 1845.

The Mercy Sisterhood was then only fourteen years in existence and the many demands made on it for foundations left a paucity in numbers at the Mother-house, St. Catherine's, Baggott Street, Dublin, as a consequence, the appeal of Bishop Hughes to Mother Cecilia Marmion, met with slight encouragement; however, she counseled him to apply to a house of the Institute, lately established in London. If Mother Agnes O'Connor, temporary Superior, would be willing to assume charge of the foundation, a colony could then be organized. The Bishop set out immediately for London, where he found the Vicar Apostolic, Right Rev. Thomas Griffiths,⁴ unwilling to spare any of the Sisters then in London. Bishop Hughes, however, sought an interview with Mother Agnes, who, on learning his mission, volunteered to take charge of the missionary-band. She returned first to Ireland, where a Community comprising Sister M. Agnes Horan, Sister M. Monica O'Doherty, Sister M. Camillus Byrne, Sister M. Teresa Breen, Sister M. Vincent Haire, a novice, Miss Burnes, a postulant, and Mother Agnes O'Connor, superior, was organized. They left Dublin for Liverpool on Easter Monday, April 13, 1846, where they remained with the Sisters of Mercy, Mt. Vernon, until the 16th, when they set sail in the "Montezuma" which arrived in New York on May 14, 1846.

Owing to ecclesiastical duties which claimed his attention in the United States, Bishop Hughes had been obliged to leave Ireland a week prior to the departure of the Sisters; he

⁴ Thomas Griffiths, Vicar Apostolic of London district, October, 1833 to time of his death, August 12, 1847.

therefore commissioned his secretary, Father Harty, to accompany them on their journey to New York. Bishop Hughes was absent⁵ on their arrival in New York; however, provision had been made by him for their comfort. Two Sisters of Charity called at the episcopal residence and invited them to their home on East Broadway, where they remained until May 26, when the Convent at Eighteen West Washington Place was ready for occupancy. On June 18, the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Blessed Sacrament was placed in a room fitted up for a chapel.

The first activities of the Sisters of Mercy in New York were the care of the sick and poor in their homes, and the establishment of a free circulating library. The latter enterprise brought the Sisters in touch with young immigrant girls of the growing metropolis. Much good was accomplished by means of this undertaking.

On September 11, 1846, the first candidate to the Mercy Sisterhood in New York, Miss Josephine Seton,⁶ the youngest but one, of the children of Mrs. Elizabeth Seton, foundress of the Sisters of Charity in the United States, entered the novitiate, and on April 16, 1847 received the habit and veil of the Institute, also the name Sister Mary

⁵ Bishop Hughes was in Baltimore attending the sixth Provincial Council, May 10, 1846.

⁶ Sister Mary Catherine was born in 1800, entered St. Catherine's Novitiate in 1846, and died 1891. She devoted her life to the sick, the poor, and the unfortunate. For twenty-five years, she visited the New York prisons twice a week. She was particularly devoted to prisoners sentenced to death, in order to prepare them for the end. Non-Catholics and Catholics alike received her visits, and not a few were converted to the faith. Her knowledge of French, Italian, German, and Spanish was a powerful asset on these missions of Mercy. Some estimate of the work of public welfare accomplished by Mother Catherine may be formed in view of the statistics (*American Cyclopaedia*, Vol. XII, p. 393) of New York courts, under date, October, 1874, which gives 49,251 as the number of prisoners held for trial, 10,671 were born in United States leaving 38,580 of foreign nativity.

Catherine. Bishop Hughes was celebrant of the religious ceremony and preached the sermon. Bishop McClosky, then coadjutor, later Archbishop of New York and the first Cardinal in United States, was present with a large number of local and visiting clergy. Many of Miss Seton's relatives and friends, the greater number of whom were non-Catholics, were also present. Thirty years later, January 6, 1876, Helen Seton, niece of Sister Catherine, and granddaughter of Mother Elizabeth Seton, entered St. Catherine's novitiate. On November 14, 1876, she received the habit and veil from the hands of Cardinal McClosky, a personal friend of the family. She also received the name of Sister Mary Catherine. Her profession took place February 8, 1879.

In accordance with the wish of the Charity Commissioners, whose representative called personally at the Convent, March 11, 1847, the Sisters began the visitations of city hospitals, prisons and the alms-house; they visited the "Tombs" three times a week, the State Prison at Sing Sing, also the penitentiary and work-house on Blackwell's Island once a month. Instructions were given by the Sisters every Sunday in the boys' prison.

The first ceremony of religious reception took place on December 8, 1846, when Sister Marianne, a postulant in the pioneer band received the habit and veil from Bishop Hughes, and was given the name Sister Mary. The first ceremony of religious profession was held in St. Patrick's Cathedral, April 27, 1847, following a Pontifical High Mass. Sister Mary Vincent Haire, a novice in the first colony from Dublin, made her vows and received the veil of profession. Bishop Hughes, later (1850), Archbishop, officiated and preached on the occasion. Since this was the first ceremony of its kind held in New York, the Cathedral was filled with people, eager to witness the solemn service.

The next step in public welfare endeavor was the estab-

lishment of a House of Protection, the opening of which had been deferred because of limited quarters in West Washington Place. The famine in Ireland and its dire consequences compelled many young girls to seek a home in America. The need of protection and guidance for these girls was imperative. In consequence the property, corner of Houston⁷ and Mulberry streets, formerly the home of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, was purchased early in 1848 and incorporated by an act of the State Legislature, April 12, 1848. The Sisters took possession May 1, when it was solemnly blessed by Bishop Hughes and given the title, St. Catherine. An important annex was erected in 1849, which added greatly to general accommodations. A select school was opened; sewing and culinary departments were also established. In the former girls who wished to become seamstresses were given instructions in plain sewing, needlework and embroidery; the latter department afforded instructions to those who wished to become domestics in private families.

This field of activity was especially dear to the heart of Bishop Hughes. For its maintenance, and at his wish, collections were taken up in the churches of New York, Jersey City, and Brooklyn. His solicitude for the virtue of poor Irish immigrant girls is evidenced in a letter⁸ to Robert

⁷ Here, in the early part of the century a fashionable boarding school, where the daughters of the leading families of the country were educated, was conducted by Madame Chegary, a French refugee who fled to America to escape the terrors of the French Revolution. Later this property was occupied by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. On their removal to Astoria, the property fell into the hands of a Mr. Abbott, subsequently, a Young Ladies Seminary was opened and continued until the building was purchased for the Sisters of Mercy. It was splendidly adapted for a Convent Boarding-school.

⁸ This letter was probably written to expose the lack of sincerity in the part of Mr. Charles O'Connor, a subaltern leader of the Irish subscription fund, who evidently had annoyed the bishop in his use of the word "shield" when announcing his contribution (\$500.00).—See Hassard, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, p. 309.

Emmet, dated November, 1848, of which the following is an excerpt.

"The *men* of Ireland, on their own soil, had rendered the protection of a shield unnecessary. This unhappily is not the case of the women of Ireland arriving in this city, young, pure, innocent, unacquainted with the snares of the world, and the dangers to which poverty and inexperience would expose them in a foreign land. To carry out, then, the spirit of my remarks, I have to request that the Directory will transfer to the Sisters of Mercy the \$500.00 subscribed by me, for the purpose of a shield to protect the purity and innocence of the poor, virtuous and destitute daughters of Ireland arriving in this city, toward whom, as far as their means will allow, the Sisters of Mercy fulfill the office of guiding and guardian angels in every respect."

I have the honor to be, dear Sir,

With sincere respect,

✱ JOHN, *Bp of New York.*

The Catholic Directory of 1851 makes mention of the activities of the Sisters of Mercy as follows:

"*St. Catherine's Convent of Sisters of Mercy*, Corner of Houston and Mulberry Streets, New York.

There is a community of 12 professed religious, 8 novices and 5 postulants. The various objects of utility which this Institution embrace are as follows:

First Object: "The House of Protection" in which young women of good character are protected and supported until situations are provided for them; thus applying a remedy to the dreadful evils consequent on poverty and the want of employment.

Second Object: "The Visitation of the Sick." The Sisters of Mercy visit the sick-poor every day and carry to them nourishment and clothing as far as their means admit.

Third Object: "The Instruction of Poor Girls." To this important branch of the Institute, the Sisters devote their best energies; that the children of the poor may be fitted to become useful and virtuous members of society.

"Schools for the gratuitous education of the children of the poor are about being opened. In the House of Mercy adjoining the Convent, there are 100 poor girls of good character who are protected and supported until situations are provided for them."

The ⁹ records of the House of Protection, March 1, 1853, show that from its inauguration, 1849, 7,365 poor girls were provided with respectable situations, 1,656 of the most destitute had received protection and a home in the Institution. Convent Records of the same year, 1853, show that 700 sick persons had been visited, consoled and instructed, many of whom had received material aid and relief. Visits to the jail twice a week have also been recorded. A free school for children had been established with an enrolment of 200 children.

The first death in the New York Community was that of Sister Mary Xavier Stewart, October 11, 1853. Sister M. Xavier was the daughter of Richard Stewart, an eminent physician of Baltimore. She entered St. Catherine's novitiate, Houston St., March 20, 1858, received the holy habit of religion, September 24, 1850, and made her final vows September 24, 1852. She was buried from St. Patrick's Cathedral, October 17, her remains being interred temporarily, in one of the Cathedral vaults. The cross was borne publicly for the first time in New York in the funeral procession formed by Archbishop Hughes, several priests, and the Sisters.

During the first five years, (1849-1854) of their establishment in New York, despite unfavorable economic and social

⁹ See Baley's *History of Catholic Church in New York*, p. 131 et seq.

conditions, the work of charity accomplished by the Sisters of Mercy is perhaps without a parallel in the United States, as may be gleaned from the Pastoral of Archbishop Hughes,¹⁰ 1854, in which he states that up to date nearly 2000 families in destitute circumstances had been visited and relieved by the Sisters. 8,650 poor girls had been placed in situations; the number received and trained in the House of Mercy was 2,323. A comparative view of these statistics, 1854, and 1853, shows that during the year 1,285 situations had been procured for poor girls, averaging approximately, four situations daily; 667 had been given a home and trained in household work. A Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, the first of its kind in the United States, was organized 1853 and approved by Pope Pius IX, in a rescript dated, January 22, 1856.

In November 1854, Mary Devereux,¹¹ later, Sister Mary

¹⁰ See *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, by Mother Austin Carroll, Vol. III, p. 156.

¹¹ Sister M. Joseph, the daughter of Mary and Nicholas Devereux, a native of Enniscorthy, County Wexford, Ireland, and a descendant of the Count Reginald D'Evreux, who is said to have come to England with the Conqueror. Her paternal uncle, John E. Devereux, Esq., of Utica, gave hospitality to Bishop Connolly, consecrated in Rome, 1814, second Bishop of New York, while on his visitation of the diocese in that section of the State. Miss Devereux before her entrance into the Mercy Institute, November, 1854, had a strong desire to become a Carmelite nun. Her father, however, wishing her to have a more extended knowledge of religious orders before making a final decision, proposed a European trip, on which they set out in company with her mother and their chaplain, Rev. Michael Clay, early in 1854. They went to Rome where they were received by Pope Pius IX, who having learned of Mary's intention, said, in bestowing his blessing, "My child, remember not to present yourself at the gate of Heaven without a train of souls who have profited by your example and teaching." These words had weight in her final choice of a religious Sisterhood. She entered St. Catherine's Novitiate in November, 1854. She received the habit and veil on May 3, 1855 and made her vows, June 19, 1857, Archbishop Hughes officiating on both occasions. Present at the ceremony of profession were Right Rev. John Laughlin, Bishop of Brooklyn, Right Rev.

Joseph entered St. Catherine's novitiate and proved a valuable member of the community, not only in official capacity, but also as organizer of agencies which sustained charitable activities. With the permission of Archbishop McCloskey, St. Joseph's Society was established in 1864, and Sister Mary Joseph placed in charge. In 1874 it had a membership of 1300.

On September 12, 1855, the Sisters of Mercy, having been invited by Right Rev. John Laughlin, opened a school, St. Francis of Assissium, in Jay Street, Brooklyn. The following year, September 24, 1856, the Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick,¹² Bishop of St. Louis requested a foundation from the Mother-house to open, in the episcopal city, the Parish School, St. Joseph's.

On November 21, 1860, a temporary refuge¹³ for Homeless Children was opened on Second Avenue by the Sisters of Mercy¹⁴ and sustained by the members of the Sacred Heart

John Timon, Bishop of Buffalo, an old friend of the Devereux family, and about twenty priests. Mr. Devereux, while in Rome, invited the Franciscan Fathers to America and offered them land and money sufficient for their establishment. The lands now occupied by St. Bonaventure's College, Alleghany, N. Y. are the gift of Mr. Devereux to the Franciscan Fathers.—See *Annals of Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 187, *et seq.* Shea, *History of Catholic Church in the United States*, one vol., N. Y., Kenedy, 1870, p. 387.

¹² Brother of Francis Patrick Kenrick, Coadjutor and administrator of Philadelphia, 1830-1842; Bishop of Philadelphia, 1842-1851; Archbishop of Baltimore, 1851-1863.—Referred to as "my brother" in *Kenrick's Diary and Visitation Records*, p. 135.

¹³ The first orphan asylum established in New York, June 26, 1817, was a small wooden building in Prince Street, in charge of three Sisters of Charity, Sister Rose White, Sister Cecilia O'Conway, and Sister Felicitas Brady, from Emmitsburg, Mother Seton Community.—See Shea, *New History of Catholic Church in U. S.*, p. 386.

¹⁴ Established by Mother Augustine MacKenna. After her death while removing the vows from the frame, "a paper was found dated 'first Friday, November, 1860,' on which was written a promise made

Sodality which was organized in 1858. Later, the sum of \$18,000 was collected by this society for the erection of a permanent Home, St. Joseph's, 65 East Eighty-first Street.

On June 19, 1862, a call¹⁵ from the Secretary of War,¹⁶ Washington, D. C. came to the Vicar General, Father William Starrs,¹⁷ for the Sisters to take charge of the Military Hospital at Beaufort, North Carolina. Father Starrs announced the official appeal to Mother M. Madeline Tobin, at this time superior of the New York Community, who selected from the number of volunteers, seven Sisters for hospital work; Father Bruhl¹⁸ was appointed chaplain. Mother M.

to the Sacred Heart to suffer the blame, shame, and humiliation . . . that it may be God's will to permit, in order to establish a home for homeless children."—*Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 209.

¹⁵ The Sisters of Mercy had volunteered their services immediately on the declaration of war. Archbishop Hughes, in writing to the Archbishop of Baltimore, on May 9, 1861, stated: "Our Sisters of Mercy have volunteered after the example of their Sisters toiling in the Crimean War. I have signified to them that . . . they should wait until their services are needed."—Hassard, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, pp. 441-445.

¹⁶ Edwin McMasters Stanton was appointed Secretary of War by President Lincoln, January, 1862, to fill the unexpired term of Simon Cameron, who was appointed United States Minister to Russia by President Lincoln, January 11, 1862.—See *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. XIX, *Encyclopedic Index A-M*, also *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*.

¹⁷ Acting administrator for Archbishop Hughes, who, in the fall of 1861, at the instance of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, went to France and England, "in connection with very important national questions between the United States and these powers." Having completed his mission, he went to Rome, where he probably was at the time the summons came for the Sisters of Mercy to take charge of the Military Hospital in Beaufort, N. C.—Hassard, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, pp. 441-445.

¹⁸ A native of Hungary who served in the French Army during the siege and capture of Algiers. He was sixty years of age and had an experimental knowledge of army-life and camp-hospitals.—*Convent Records*.

Madeline¹⁹ with Mother M. Alphonsus Smyth, then Bursar of the Community, accompanied the first band which comprised Sister M. Augustine MacKenna, Sister M. Elizabeth Callanan, Sister M. Paul Lennon, Sister M. Gertrude Ledwith, Sister M. Paula Harris, Sister M. Veronica Dimond and Sister M. Agatha MacCarthy.

The Sisters embarked on the government steamer "Cahawba" in the afternoon of July 15. However, the strenuous task of getting on board five hundred horses detailed for war service, prevented their leaving the harbor until 3:00 p. m. July 16. On the night of the 18th, the steamer ran aground and was stalled for the night. The next morning the Sisters continued their journey on a steam-tug, and arrived at the Military Hospital at 5:00 P. M. July 19. Prior to the war the hospital had been a fashionable hotel of five hundred rooms, splendidly furnished. At the outbreak of the war, for purposes of fortification, a small garrison of Confederate Soldiers were sent to Beaufort, a short distance from Fort Macon, which was captured early in 1862 by the Union Soldiers who later made a midnight attack on Beaufort, conquered the small army stationed there, and sacked the hotel, strewing the shore

¹⁹ Complete list of Sisters of Mercy, New York Community, who served in the Military Hospital, Beaufort, N. C. during the war:

Mother Mary Madeline Toban	Sister M. Elizabeth Callahan
Sister M. Augustine MacKenna	" " Vincent Sweetman
" " Ignatius Grant *	" " Paul Lennon
" " Agnes O'Connor	" " Gertrude Ledwith
" " Joseph Devereux	" " Paula Harris
" " Alphonsus Smyth	" " Veronica Dimond
" " Gerard Ryan	" " Francis Murray
" " Agatha McCarthy	" " Martha Corrigan

Ellen Ryan Jolly, National Chairman of the Nuns' Monument Committee, Pawtucket, R. I., lauded the work of the Sisters of Mercy during the war in a paper which appeared in the *Catholic News*, February 4, 1922.

* Still living at the Mother-house, St. Catherine's, June, 1922.

with parts of pianos, tables, chairs, broken glasses, and china. No means of obtaining artificial light were left in the building. About two hundred soldiers wounded in the skirmish, were carried to the hotel which was now utilized for hospital purposes. The patients suffering from neglect and lack of nourishment presented a pitiable sight to the Sisters who arrived two months later. A survey of the building revealed a general lack of necessities for hospital work.

In face of the knowledge that previous demands had been made on the War Department without success, and in spite of present discouragement on the part of the hospital officials, Mother Madeline made out a list of needs, which she dispatched to General Foster. In due time a steamer laden with wash tubs, brooms, scrubbing brushes, lamps, kerosene, dishes, soaps, etc. also a drug-room supply, arrived in the harbor. The authority of the Sisters was now established. Dr. Upham, superintendent of the hospital, assembled the orderlies and nurses and announced that the Sisters had full control of the hospital, the medical department excepted, and that they were to be obeyed by all.

Sister M. Augustine MacKenna,²⁰ a woman of broad

²⁰ Sister Mary Augustine, Ellen MacKenna, was born on Christmas Eve, 1819, at Willville, Monaghan, Ireland, and died August 2, 1883. She loved to style herself "the daughter of an Irish giant" which her strenuous activity during her years of office in the capacity of Local-superior, 1863-1865, Mistress of Novices, 1865-1868, Mother Superior, 1868-1877, seemed to verify. She received part of her education from an "old pedagogue, probably the last of the hedge schoolmasters" and from whom, undoubtedly, she imbibed much of her love of poetry and history. In 1848, during the famine in Ireland, she, in company with her sister Fanny and brother William, came to America and established themselves in New York where they obtained employment. Ellen later opened a school in Schenectady and assumed the responsibility of providing for the "people at home." Her mother's death, and the subsequent arrival in New York of her youngest brother, Father MacKenna, relieved Ellen of this care, her eldest brother, a physician, having settled in Valparaiso, Chili. On the advice of Father

culture and singular energy of character, was given charge of the cooking department. Under the Sisters' able management, the various departments of the hospital soon assumed an aspect of cleanliness and order. The intense heat of the South, together with the hardships endured, soon told on the health of the Sisters. Sister M. Paul was the first to be overcome, followed soon after by Sister Agatha. Dr. Upham was in attendance and when they were convalescent, he advised them to return North. Sister M. Paul died soon after her return to New York. Meantime Sister M. Elizabeth was stricken with the fever, which was thought for some time to be serious. She recovered, however, and returned to the Mother-house with Mother M. Alphonsus whose official duties called her home. Five Sisters now remained. This number was augmented in a short time by

Hecker, her spiritual director, Ellen entered St. Catherine's Novitiate, September 25, 1855, a few weeks subsequent to the entrance of her sister Julia, who later was appointed on the Brooklyn foundation, the first Sister of Mercy to receive the habit in Brooklyn diocese. Mother Augustine's two nieces, Margaret and Agnes Rooney, subsequently entered the New York and Brooklyn Community, respectively, the former, Margaret, Sister Dolores, is still living (1922) in the Convent of the Holy Eucharist, Yonkers, N. Y. To her the writer is indebted for war-records which she had copied from Mother Augustine's original data, shortly after her entrance to the Novitiate in 1870. James L. Rooney, LL.D. nephew of Mother MacKenna and brother of Sister Dolores, edited in 1913 the *Catholic Chronologist*, the publication of which was highly lauded by Cardinal Farley in a letter dated, December 5, 1912, which appeared in the *Chronologist*, Vol. II, Nos. 11-23, Nov., 1914. This was, so far as we know, the only publication of its kind in the world.

The *Catholic Chronologist* continued until 1915, when a stroke of paralysis obliged Dr. Rooney to give up the work; nevertheless, he made contributions to the *Catholic World* and other periodicals as late as 1917. He died January 13, 1919, in the 77th year of his age. At his own request, his MSS. and chronological notes were sent to Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D. of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., and his library to Niagara University, of whose first graduating class, 1860, he was the last surviving member.—*Annals of Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 203 *et seq.*, and *Convent Records*.

Sister Ignatius Grant and Sister M. Francis Murray. They were accompanied by six young Irish girls²¹ from the House of Protection, who volunteered their services, which proved of great value in caring for the sick and wounded, and managing household affairs.

On September 19, 1862, Mother Madeline, after three months of hospital work returned to her duties at the Mother-house; before leaving, however, she appointed Sister M. Augustine MacKenna in charge of the hospital department. Late in October 1862, owing to the severe winter, General Foster ordered the patients to be removed to Newberne. The Sisters were given the use of the Stanly House,²² formerly the headquarters of General Burnside. The hospital department consisted of three buildings and several pavillions recently erected. Sister M. Gertrude was given charge of one building, Sister M. Paula, of another, while Sister M. Ignatius managed the third. Sister M. Francis had charge of the pavillion, Sister M. Veronica assumed charge of the laundry and Sister M. Augustine was general superintendent. In December 1862, after the attack of General Foster on Goldsborough, N. C. the work so increased as to call for more help; accordingly in February 1863, Mother Superior visited Newberne, bringing two Sisters for hospital work. On her return, March 10, Sister M. Francis accompanied her. In April, the patients were so far recovered as to warrant the Sisters' return, and their services not being needed for hospital duty elsewhere, they sailed from Newberne, May 10, and arrived in New York on Ascension Thursday, May 14, 1863.²³

²¹ Bridget Farrell, Jane O'Brien, Ellen Somerville, Annie Gallagher, Ann Farrelly, and Lizzie Murtha.

²² The home of Governor Stanley of North Carolina.

²³ After the war, Jefferson Davis happened to be in a certain assembly where there were Sisters of Mercy present. Approaching them he said, "Will you allow me, ladies, to speak a moment with you? I am

The death of Archbishop Hughes on January 3, 1864, was the occasion of great sorrow to the Sisters of Mercy in New York. He had been their friend, protector, and patron, and his loss to them was irreparable. His successor, Bishop McClosky, later Archbishop, created Cardinal, March 15, 1875, continued the work of charity and education that his illustrious predecessor had so firmly established.

During the sixties, the Mother-house, St. Catherine, sent out two foundations: the first, September 24, 1863 opened a Convent and School, St. John, in Greenbush, (now Rensselaer) New York, this branch-house became an independent Community September 19, 1868; the second foundation established a school and Convent in St. Ann's Parish, Worcester, Mass., October 16, 1864. In 1868, a select school, St. John the Evangelist, was opened in East Fifty-fourth Street, N. Y. Owing to a greater need of Sisters' services among the poor children in the Homes, this school was closed in 1881.

Soon after the war, the Sisters of Mercy received, from the City of New York in recognition of their services in the Military Hospitals at Beaufort and Newberne, N. C., a tract of land, 65 East Eighty-first Street, on which to erect an Industrial Home, which was intended primarily to provide a home, and education for daughters of the soldiers who had died in the war. Work on the building was begun May 14, 1866, and on September 8, feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 1869, the building, under the patronage of St. Joseph, was blessed by Rev. William H. Clowery, ecclesiastical superior of the Community. Mother M. Alphonsus Smyth was appointed its first Superior on September 24, 1869. 100 girls were brought from the House of Mercy,

proud to see you once more. I can never forget your kindness to the sick and wounded during our darkest days. And I know not how to testify my gratitude and respect for every member of your noble Order."—*Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 166.

Houston Street, and about thirty little girls under 10 years of age, transferred from the Home on Second Avenue, opened on November 21, 1860. Classes for the younger children were held from 9 A.M. until 12 A.M. and from 1 P.M. until 3 P.M. The older girls who were employed during the morning, had session from 4 p.m. until 6:30 p.m.

Between 1869-1876, St. Joseph's Home, without private endowments or public appropriations, was maintained by the exertions and savings of the Community, and the income derived from the academy and boarding-school established on Eighty-first Street in 1876. During the same year this academy was removed to Balmville,²⁴ a property of twelve acres purchased by the Sisters, to make room for 200 orphan children, who were dismissed from the Randell's Island Institution²⁵ in compliance with the law recently established (1876) that all destitute children should be brought up in the religion of their parents. Two years later the boarding-school was closed to accommodate the larger boys at St. Joseph's Home who were transferred to Balmville to make room for the smaller children.

Meantime, April 14, 1871, a foundation, consisting of

²⁴ This property was purchased by the Community from a family named Butterworth, in 1876. The last surviving member of the family, Miss Butterworth, was in a Community of Anglican Nuns in England. Becoming unsettled in mind, she left the order and became a Catholic, subsequently, entering the Assumption Sisterhood. Prior to making her final vows, her father having died in the meantime, she returned to New York to settle her financial affairs. She received hospitality from the Sisters of Mercy who, on learning her mission to America, visited Balmville and were so pleased with its property and location that the purchased followed. After the fire, December 1, 1891, the Sisters decided not to rebuild in Balmville. The property again passed into the hands of a relative of Mr. Butterworth.

²⁵ The juvenile branch of the city almshouse is stationed here. It includes the Nursery, the Infant Hospital and the Idiot Asylum.—*The American Cyclopaedia*, Vol. XII, p. 396.

Sister M. Evangelista Kidgell, Sister M. Vincent Meldrum, Sister M. Josephine Cummings, Sister M. Rose McAleer and Sister M. Teresa McDonald, was sent from the Mother-house to open a Convent and school attached to the College of the Fathers of the Precious Blood, Eureka, Grass Valley Diocese, California. After some years of struggle and hardships, the foundation ceased to exist, and the Sisters affiliated themselves with the San Francisco Community.

The Catholic Directory of 1871 gives notice of the New York Community of Sisters of Mercy as follows:

“House of Mercy, 33 East Houston Street has accommodations for 100 inmates. These are religiously instructed, taught domestic economy and provided with suitable situations.

St. Catherine's Academy, East Houston Street has a daily attendance of 85 pupils.

St. John's Academy of Our Lady of Mercy, 120 pupils.

St. Joseph's Industrial School 152 pupils.

“This important branch of the Institution of Mercy was completed and opened during the year 1869. It is intended for the protection of young girls and female children of unblemished morals, whose circumstances render them fit subjects for such an establishment. No distinction is made with regard to creed or country, and the children of deceased or disabled soldiers have primary claim to admission. The children are provided with the comforts of a home, receive a plain English education, and are taught some trade or useful and remunerative education.”

“The house is calculated to contain between four and five hundred occupants, is well ventilated and heated, and in every way suited to the purpose for which it was designed.”

Meantime, St. Catherine's Convent, Houston Street, could

no longer comfortably accommodate the increasing numbers of the Community, accordingly, on September 24, 1886, the Mother-house and Novitiate were transferred to their present quarters, 1075 Madison Avenue. During the next decade, three schools were established from the Mother-house; on November 22, 1887 in St. Cecilia's parish, an academy and school were inaugurated at 116 and 118 East One Hundred and Sixth Street; November 22, 1889, the school of St. Catherine of Genoa was opened on West One Hundred and Fifty-third Street, the building having been purchased by the Community. In 1895, a parochial school and academy were established at Mt. Vernon, where the Community had purchased property for that purpose. On the first Sunday in October, the school and academy were blessed by Monsignor Farley, later Archbishop and Cardinal. The Sisters of Mercy have also charge of the Sunday-schools and Sodalities at St. Thomas' Church, West One Hundred and Eighteenth Street, St. Francis de Sales' in East Ninety-sixth Street, and the Church of the Magdalene, Pocantico, N. Y.

The past ten years were not without struggles and great financial losses to the Community. On December 1, 1891, Our Lady of Mercy, Home for Orphans, Balmville, was destroyed by fire. Monsignor Farley, later Cardinal, immediately on receipt of the telegram announcing the disaster, visited the scene of the conflagration and exerted himself to relieve the distress of the Sisters and children. Rev. Father Dougherty of the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, procured clothing and also offered accommodations at Mt. Loretto, Staten Island, to the boys, who for nearly a week were sheltered in barns and whatever other buildings were available on the premises. An unoccupied hotel in Newburg, known as the "Leslie House" was secured and became the temporary quarters of the orphans and Sisters in charge. The building was poorly adapted for an orphan asylum, the Com-

munity therefore rented from the city in 1892 a large dwelling and four small cottages, located at Pelham Bay Park on Long Island Sound. The orphans were transferred here from the "Leslie House" on April 20, 1892, and remained until 1894, when they were removed to Tarrytown, their present home. On October 22, 1894, the building in Wilson Park, Tarrytown, was blessed by Archbishop Corrigan. Rev. James H. McGean, of old St. Peter's, delivered the sermon.

This Institution, fittingly furnished and modernly equipped, is a magnificent three-story structure, having a frontage of one hundred and sixty feet. It is splendidly situated on a thirty-acre tract, which commands a fine view of the Hudson. The Convent department is connected with the main building by a large corridor. On the grounds are the quarantine buildings, the gate-lodge and several other smaller buildings.

In 1896 we find in the Catholic Directory, that the Institution of Mercy in New York, comprised—St. Joseph's Home, St. Cecilia's and St. Catherine's Academy, New York City, the Institution of Mercy in Tarrytown, N. Y. Academy and Parochial School, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. Sisters, 71; Novices, 8; Postulants, 2; Pupils in Academy, 262; Inmates in Women and Girls' Homes, 575; in Boys' Home, 439. Total number under the care of the Sisters 1276. On September 8, 1909 the Holy Eucharist School, 86 Linden St., Yonkers, N. Y. was established with a school attendance of 300 children.

On April 29, 1914 the Devin Clare Home for Business Girls, 415 West 121st. Street, valued at \$250,000, the gift of Mrs. Susan Devin, was solemnly blessed by Monsignor J. F. Mooney, Vicar General, and the deeds transferred to the Sisters of Mercy. A suite of rooms was reserved for the use of the benefactress. Later, the Home for Old Ladies, 199th Street, valued at \$300,000, the gift also of

Mrs. Susan Devin was presented to the Community. It is expected that the home will be ready for occupancy June, 1922.

Shortly before the armistice was signed, the orphanage at Tarrytown was taken over by the government for the use of disabled soldiers. The orphans were transferred to the Catholic Protectory. Meantime the war ended; in consequence, the building was never put to government use. At this time, the housing situation in the great metropolis was becoming a taxing and complex problem. To partially meet the City's needs in its great emergency, the Sisters of Mercy transferred three hundred children at St. Joseph's Home, E. 81st Street, to Tarrytown, reserving St. Joseph's Home for business girls only. Many improvements were made on the building which occupies nearly a whole block and is capable of housing six hundred children. There are reading, sewing, and music rooms, also reception rooms to which the girls are encouraged to bring their friends. A large room on the top floor was converted into a laundry for the use of the girls.

On this floor also, a dormitory will be arranged in the near future where girls who wish to remain but a short time may have lodging and protection. Many of the residents attend Mass every morning before going to work; but, attendance is not obligatory. The Sisters of Mercy also conduct a Day Nursery and kindergarten 221½ E. 105 St. of which the average daily attendance is 100. The Sisters of Mercy in New York continue to visit the hospitals and the sick and poor in their homes. In accordance with the wish of ecclesiastical authority, the Sisters no longer visit the prisons, as this field of apostolic work was given in charge of the young men in the Seminary at Dunwiddie.

During the seventy-five years of establishment in New York, the Sisters of Mercy have given their services in nurseries, in orphanages, in homes for working girls, in

schools and academies, in the almshouse, in prisons, among the poor and the sick, and, when their country needed their ministrations willingly did they labor for suffering humanity; Sisters from schools and academies were detailed for Hospital duty in order that the orphans might not be neglected. Academies have been closed so that the orphans might be properly cared for. When the Old Ladies' Home shall have been established, the apostolic mission of the Sisters of Mercy in the Archdiocese of New York shall be all-embracing—the care of humanity from infancy to old age.

THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS ARE IN CHARGE OF THE SISTERS OF
MERCY IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK, 1921

	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
St. Catherine's Convent of Mercy, Religious Novitiate, Normal Training School, 1075 Madison Ave.		
Novices		10
Postulants		2
St. Catherine's High School, Academy, Commercial High School, 539 W. 152nd St., affiliated with Uni- versity of New York.		
Religious	5	
Lay.	3	
H. S. and Acad.	2	
Com. H. S., Est.		90
St. Thomas the Apostle School, 118th St. & St. Nicholas Ave., Elementary, Grades 8. (Christian Brothers in charge of boys.)		
Religious.	10	
Lay.	13	
Girls		400
St. Cecilia's School, 218 E. 106th St., Grades 8.		
Religious.	14	
Lay.	9	
Boys and Girls		1020
Our Lady of the Scapular School, 322 E. 29th St.		
Religious, Est.	9	
Girls		350
St. Catherine of Genoa School, 503 W. 152nd St.		
Religious.	8	
Lay.	9	
Boys and Girls		618

Holy Eucharist School, 80 Linden St., Yonkers, N. Y., Elementary, Grades 8.		
Religious.	8	
Boys and Girls		300
St. John Evangelist School, Beacon, Dutchess County, Elementary, Grades 8.		
Religious.	4	
Boys and Girls		214
Sacred Heart School, 67 South 5th Ave., Mt. Vernon.		
Religious.	8	
Boys and Girls		380
Academy of St. Thomas, 141 W. 118th St.		
Religious.	5	
Boys and Girls		80
St. Joseph's Home for Girls, 47 E. 81st St., New York City, Elementary, Grades 8.		
Religious, Est.	14	
Girls		360
*Regina Angelorum, Home for Working Girls, 112- 116 East 106th St.		
Institution of Mercy Orphan Asylum, Tarrytown, N. Y., Elementary, Grades 8.		
Religious, Est.	10	
Girls, Est.		292
St. Cecilia's Day Nursery and Kindergarten, 222½ 105th St., average daily attendance.		
Religious.	2	
Girls		100
Devin Clare, a residence for self-supporting young girls, Est.		
		125
Home for Old Ladies,† 199th St.		
Number of Sisters in the Community	140	
Total number of Sister-teachers		98
Total number of pupils including children in Institutional Schools		4905
Number of Parochial Schools	7	
Number of Academies.	2	
Institutional Schools	3	
Home for Business Girls	3	
Home for Old Ladies	1	

*Number of inmates not listed.

†,Ready for occupancy, June, 1922.

SISTER MARY EULALIA HERRON.

St. Mary's Convent, Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.

SOME PHILADELPHIA CONVERTS

The thirty-three volumes of our *Records* contain life-sketches and accounts of many converts, whose place and prominence in intellectual and professional life were recognized fifty, seventy and eighty years ago. The purpose of this paper is not to work over again what has been done in former issues of the *Records*: it is not to repeat merely or to review the results of earlier research. The aim is *first*, to gather facts and to assemble points of general interest for easy reference and use; second, to add, here and there, details of information that are found in later publications, the correspondence chiefly and the Diary of Francis Patrick Kenrick.

During the years 1920-1922 we printed in our *Records* one hundred and thirty-five Letters of Francis Patrick Kenrick to the family of George Bernard Allen. The references to many converts in these Letters, extending over the years 1849 to 1863 suggested a list of converts named in the letters. This list was printed at the end of the last instalment of Letters (*Records*, March, 1922).

In conjunction with the Letters it was planned to publish an original study of George Allen's on "*The Religion of Shakespeare*". By some unexplained error the Shakespeare study was omitted, though the paper was in type and ready for publication in March 1922. It was decided then, in order to carry the Shakespeare study to gather a new list of Philadelphia Converts, limiting the notices to main points of interest, which a searcher usually wants to know.

The Shakespeare study will be found at the end of this list.

Allen, George Bernard,¹ was born at Milton, described as a "farming and lumbering township in the county of Chittenden", Vermont, December 17, 1808. His father, Herman Allen, was a lawyer of "high abilities" and "still higher qualities" of soul. After completing college course at the University of Vermont George Allen taught in that University from August, 1828 to April 1830; later he studied law under Judge Turner at St. Albans, and was admitted to practice in the courts of Franklin County in March, 1831. During the same year, 1831, he married Mary Hancock Withington, whose grandmother on the mother's side was a sister of John Hancock, first signer of the Declaration of Independence.

In May, 1834, Mr. Allen was ordained Deacon, and a year later, Presbyterian in the Protestant Episcopal church. He officiated at St. Alban's 1835 to 1837, when he resigned the clerical charge on account of throat trouble. In the meantime, 1834 to 1837, he had been teaching in the theological department of the Vermont Episcopal Institute at St. Albans. This school was then under the direction of Bishop Hopkins, the opponent of Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, whose Letter in answer to Hopkins developed later into "The Primacy of the Apostolic See".² From 1837 to 1845 George Allen taught languages in Delaware

¹ Professor Allen signed his name George Allen, and was not known to the world as George Bernard Allen. The name Bernard was given to him by Bishop Kenrick at the time of his reception in the Church. From a letter of Mr. Gregory B. Keen, Curator of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Sept. 23, 1921. The sources of information in this notice are a sketch of the Life of George Allen by Robert Ellis Thompson, and a *Collection* of biographical notes prepared by Mr. Allen at the request of Gregory B. Keen some time before Mr. Allen's death. Both these papers were printed in the Penn Monthly during the autumn following George Allen's death, May 28, 1876. The autobiographical notes cover only the years previous to Mr. Allen's coming into the Church, 1847.

² See *Kenrick's Letters*, p. 258, note.

College, near Newark, in the state of Delaware. The latter year, 1845, marks the beginning of his work at the University of Pennsylvania, over thirty years of actual teaching. First, 1845 to 1847, he was assistant professor; 1847 to 1864 he was Professor of Greek and Latin. In 1864 the burden of the two classics were divided, and Mr. Allen was given the department of Greek Language and Literature. He remained in charge of this work to the time of his death in 1876.

For particulars about the conversion of George Allen and his family we depend now entirely upon the Letters of Francis Patrick Kenrick. The marble slabs over the graves in the "Old Cathedral" Cemetery give the information "Received into the Church October 13, 1847", and "Received into the Church October 14, 1847" for the father and the mother respectively. The five children probably were received with the mother.

In a letter written to his brother in St. Louis, dated the feast of St. Peter Alcantara (October 19,) 1847, Bishop Kenrick says: "Last week I received George Allen, and his wife and five children into the fold of Mother Church. He came to the faith following the example and encouraged by the counsel of William H. Hoyt.* He (Allen) teaches letters in the University in Philadelphia, and he served in the ministry in that sect (Episcopalian) a number of years". In another letter, written November 30 of the same year, the Bishop says: "George Allen, who was recently converted to the Faith, is an excellent scholar in Greek and Latin letters, is strong in his faith, admirable in humility,

* William H. Hoyt had taken the place of George Allen as rector of the Episcopalian church at St. Albans in 1837. Hoyt was received into the Church in July, 1846. After the death of his wife he was ordained priest, in 1877. He died at St. Ann's, New York, December 11, 1883. Many children and grandchildren were present at his funeral. See *Kenrick Letters*, p. 265, note.

and has a tender loving devotion for the Mother of God; and his whole family has the same affection.

From another letter written on occasion of the death of "Little Mary", Easter, 1852, it appears that the Bishop himself prepared the children personally and instructed them for reception into the Church. "Your faith", he says, in a letter to the father, "will give you fortitude and resignation. I feel as if I shared your bereavement. She loved me in her simplicity, as no child ever before loved me. The words of instruction which I uttered were received by her with a clearness of understanding and a tenderness of piety altogether extraordinary". We get glimpses occasionally of the home life of the Allens through the letters written by Kenrick after he went to Baltimore in 1852—one hundred and thirty letters 1852 to 1863.²²

George Stanislaus Allen, the younger son, went to Vermont, it appears, to study law, about 1859. Later he lived in Washington, D.C. About 1872 he returned to Philadelphia, where he followed his chosen profession—music.

²² From a little note book kept by Mrs. Allen after the death of Little Mary this point is now fixed quite beyond doubt, that Bishop Kenrick did instruct the Allen children personally in the principles of Faith. Mrs. Allen has recorded there her conversation with Miss Johnson, the Germantown convert, who had just returned from Baltimore. She reports Miss Johnson's words: "He (the Archbishop) told a great deal about dear Little Mary. He told what she said when he was instructing her for her first Holy Communion, when she was just nine years old. When, explaining about the Blessed Sacrament, he turned to her and asked if she understood him, she said: 'No, how can I understand; but I believe.'"

Another note in this little book, which, by the way, had been used by Little Mary to mark her lessons at school, deserves notice here—Mrs. Allen has written: "Mrs. Bradford sent in one day, soon after we were Catholics, for Little Mary to go out and play with her children. She asked Mary a great many questions about it—asked if it was true that we were Catholics, and why we were so. Mary said 'because it was the only right way.' Mrs. B. said: 'Yes, but we think we are right.' Mary's answer was: 'We used to *think* so, but now we *know*.'"

He died at St. Albans, Vermont, September 4, 1907, true to Mother Church. The elder son, Heman, studied music in Germany, 1860-1862. In 1865 he married Miss Clara Niles of Dansville, New York, also a convert in 1868. From 1867 to the time of his death, Jan. 27, 1893, Heman Allen made his home in Chicago. For many years he was organist in the Holy Name Cathedral, and is said to have been the first to introduce the Gregorian and Caecilian music in the middle West. In 1883 he was one of the orchestra, which, under the direction of Theodore Thomas, made the tour of the country from ocean to ocean. Heman Allen was chosen in 1889 to read the paper on Church Music in the Catholic Congress held in November of that year in Chicago.*

The two daughters of George Allen, Elizabeth and Julia, mentioned frequently in the Letters, remained single, their graves are marked together with the father and mother, and Little Mary, in the Old Cathedral Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pa.†

* Two children of Heman Allen are living—Miss Edith Allen, a teacher in the schools of Chicago and Mary Hancock Allen Merrill, wife of William Stetson Merrill (also a convert) of the Newberry Library, Chicago. There are three sons in this family—John Hancock, Wilfrid Allen and Harold Stetson Merrill. The memory of "Sweet Little Mary," Bishop Kenrick's "Pet" is continued in the name of Mrs. Merrill. George Stanislaus was twice married, and there were six children. One is living, Mrs. Elizabeth Creutz, of Los Angeles, Calif.—See "Genealogies of the Converse Family and allied families," also *A Hundred Years of Music in America*, Chicago, 1889, pp. 300-301.

NOTE.—Mrs. Mary Hancock Allen Merrill died in Chicago, October 16, 1922.

† In Section L, Range 2, Lot 57, Little Mary's grave is marked by a low marble block, surmounted by a sleeping lamb. The inscription reads

Mary Hancock Allen
Died April 10, 1852
Aged 12 years

The Allens lived for many years in the house which they owned at Northeast corner Seventeenth and Chancellor Streets. There George Allen had collected what then was considered the best library of Shakespeariana and works on Chess in America. There as a description of Allen book collection in the Philadelphia Ledger, January 3, 1888—5000 vols.

The only published work, which George Allen left to prove his undoubted scholarship, is a "Life of Philodor,* Musician and Chess Player", printed in 1863. In Kenrick's Letter are many allusions to facts of assistance which he received from Mr. Allen in the preparation of notes and

on a plain marble slab is inscribed

Pray for the Repose of
George Allen
born December 17, 1808
died May 28, 1876
Received into the Church October 13, 1847
And his wife
Mary Hancock Allen
born December 21, 1799
died July 28, 1879
Received into the Church October 14, 1847

Another slab bears the inscription

Pray for the repose of
Julia Allen
born August 28, 1833
died May 2, 1897
Elizabeth W. Allen
born April 11, 1831
died November 10, 1902

* Philodor was the name given to the Chess player's father by Louis XVII of France. The family name was Danican. The Chess expert was Francois André Danican-Filidori, born 1726, died 1795. A preliminary note says that "Two copies" (of the book) "have been printed on vellum. The first book-printing on vellum executed in America." But in the Preface Mr. Allen says "Two copies of another little book of mine (the Novena of St. Anthony of Padua, pp. viii and 1-24) were printed on vellum"—this Novena was published in 1860.

in the translation of difficult passages for the second edition of the New Testament,⁷ published by Kelly Hedian and Piet, Baltimore, 1862. George Bernard Allen died in Worcester, Massachusetts, May 28, 1876. The body was brought to Philadelphia for burial in the Old Cathedral Cemetery by the side of Little Mary, whose body had been removed from St. John's on Thirteenth Street, in September, 1855.

Brackett—Mary Brackett Willcox—Wife of James M. Willcox, was born September 9, 1796, at Quincy, Massachusetts. Married James M. Willcox of Ivy Mills, Delaware County, Pennsylvania in 1819. Mrs. Willcox was received into the Church probably in 1842. Bishop Kenrick has noted the fact in the *Diary* thus:

"May, the first day (1842)—Fifth Sunday after Easter, I confirmed twenty one persons in the home of James Willcox, in Ivy township, in Delaware County. He himself and his wife, recently a convert to the Faith, received together the Sacraments of Confirmation and the Holy Eucharist, also a number of their children. About thirty, altogether, received Holy Communion. The grandfather of the said good man (James Willcox) came and settled here about one hundred and twenty years ago. Mass has been celebrated here ever since priests have visited this region at all. The Rev. Father Farmer, among others, said Mass in this place, and for forty years, the Rev. Patrick Kenny, who died two years ago, used to celebrate Mass in the same place. The Rev. Patrick Sheridan now for six months past, says Mass here once each month . . . the first Sunday. It is the purpose now to build a church here, on ground which James Willcox will give for that end". Kenrick, *Diary*—p. 204.

Mrs. Willcox died at the Willcox home, Ivy Mills, March

⁷ See Letters to the Allen Family printed in the Records, CXXI-CXXX, CXXXI.

21, 1866. A sketch of the life of Mary Brackett Willcox may be found in "Ivy Mills"—1729-1866—"Willcox and Allied Families" by Joseph Willcox, 1911, pp. 124-136—There also are printed Mrs. Willcox's own brief *notes* referring to facts of nearly fifty years of residence at Ivy Mills, historically valuable.

Brittin, Lionell, designated as "Pennsylvania's first Catholic Convert", settled in Bucks County in 1680; in 1688 removed to Philadelphia. Between the years 1688 and 1720 there are recorded twenty-three transfers of real estate in vicinity of Chestnut and Second—Market and Front streets; convert about 1707; died before January 21, 1721, the date of probating his will. The late Mrs. Col. John Devereaux of Wayne, Delaware County, was a descendent of Lionell Brittin.⁸

Bryant, John Delavau, was born in Philadelphia in 1811. His father was the Rev. William Bryant, assistant for some years at the church of the Epiphany (Episcopalian), formerly at the Northeast corner of Chestnut and Fifteenth streets. John Delavau Bryant was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, A.B. in 1839; Master of Arts in 1842, and Doctor of Medicine in 1848. He was received into the Church at St. John's February 12, 1842. This was a short time after the death of his father.⁹ For some time before entering upon the practice of medicine, probably also later, Mr. Bryant was at the head of a "Select English and Classical School." This School, on South Eleventh Street, is advertised during several successive years in the *Catholic Herald*:

⁸ *Griffins Researches*, 1890, vol. vii, pp. 50-66.

⁹ "The young man Bryant, whose father died a few weeks ago, after a stroke of apoplexy, while officiating in a church of the Episcopalians, is coming again to be instructed in the Catholic Faith."—*Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, January 10, 1842, page 141.

St. Paul's English and Classical Academy.

In 1846 the notice runs—"The Eleventh term of St. Paul's Academy will commence on Monday, Sept. 7 at the usual place, Eighth street, third door above Chestnut St.

"The patronage of Catholics and the public generally is respectfully solicited. The excellence of the mental and moral culture here to be obtained is sufficiently known, and needs no advertisement to set it forth. To those who have not yet experimentally proved their superiority references is made to the Right Rev. Bishop of Philadelphia, the Rev. Clergy and all the Patrons.

John D. Bryant, A.M.—Principal

Peter Frenaye—French Department

M. Merino—Spanish Department "

—CatholicHerald—September 24, 1846.

During the summer of 1855, when an epidemic of yellow fever was devastating many cities in the South, Doctor Bryant, with a number of other Philadelphia physicians and nurses, volunteered to go to the relief of Portsmouth and Norfolk, Virginia, where the ravages of the dread disease had left conditions beyond the control of those who remained of the medical profession. Doctor Bryant was on duty in these afflicted cities of the South from September to December, 1855. Of the thirty-one physicians resident in the two cities it is said that not one escaped the fever; and fourteen out of the thirty-one died. Out of twenty-one physicians, who volunteered relief, sixteen contracted the fever, and six died. In North Laurel Hill cemetery is a monument erected to the memory of Physicians, Druggists and Nurses who died at Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va., in discharge of their duty during the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1855.

Doctor Bryant was the author of *Pauline Seward*, a novel which enjoyed a healthful popularity, and was several

times reprinted. *Redemption*,^{2a} an epic in twelve books was published in 1859. The theme is Sin and The Divine Plan of Reparation on lines similar to *Paradise Lost* and *Regained*. There are points of high merit in this work. Chief among these are, perhaps, The Devils' Defeat at the hands of Mary, p. 83; The Tempting of Christ in the wilds, pp. 158 et seq.; Counsels of the evil Spirits to defeat

2a Profoundest hell! hast thou, in all thy depths,
 'Worse punishment than this? I, who have fought
 'With princedoms, thrones, archangels, powers, and ne'er
 Before created aught did fly, do here,
 Before this fragile thing, retreat abashed!
 Hell, hast thou seen my shame? and wilt thou own
 Thy Lord, first relegate from heav'n, and now
 From earth? For if I reign not conqueror there
 Where weakest dwell, who 'mong superiors
 'Will own my sway?

—Bryant's *Redemption*, p. 83.

Christ's answer to the tempter (Matt. 4: 5-10.)

Whence hast thou, Satan, gained this boasted right
 To sway earth's goods? to give them or retain?
 Whence came they? Not from thee. Where wast thou then
 When earth's foundations deep and strong were laid?

Thy bold usurping of His rights, who made,
 No right confers on thee, who artful stole.
 But, grant thy boasting, yield earth's goods are thine;
 How small thy patrimony, vain thy boast!
 Compared with these vast orbs, which He who made
 Rolled at a word with ease through boundless space,
 Earth's meager point, invisible to those,
 Is but a mote that floats unseen through air.

And canst thou, vain with such an atom, hope
 To buy what in no case becomes thy state,
 When He who made all these exhaustless worlds,
 And to whom sole allegiance is due
 Can whom He will reward with countless worlds?
 Judge then (if thou material goods wilt boast)
 If it were best to kneel and worship thee;

—Bryant's *Redemption*, p. 175.

Christ 233-239; Soliloquies and final despair of Judas pp. 244-277.

Doctor Bryant died in Philadelphia, August 2, 1877.

Carter, Charles Ignatius Hamilton, born in Kentucky in 1803. There also he was received into the Church about 1822, influenced, it is said, by the Catholic family life of his sister, also a convert, who had married Gabriel Lancaster. More than forty years of Father Carter's life were spent in Philadelphia, hence his place in a list of Philadelphia converts. His studies for the priesthood were begun in St. Joseph's Seminary, Bardstown, completed in St. Mary's, Baltimore; and he was ordained priest by Bishop Kenrick in St. Mary's, Philadelphia, August 15, 1832. Father Carter's first charge was St. John's, Manayunk, 1832-1837. He was at St. Mary's 1838 to 1848, assistant first, then rector, after Father Barron's departure for the African Missions in 1841. In 1848 Father Carter was assigned to the work of forming the new parish and building church and school of St. Mary's of the Assumption, Spring Garden and Twelfth Streets. This new church was dedicated to the divine worship November 11, 1849. In 1864 Father Carter acquired the land and buildings of the Jackson Academy at Sharon Hill, Delaware County, a boarding school for girls established about 1835. This school was then placed under the charge of Sisters of the Holy Child, to whom Father Carter had been a generous friend since their first coming to the United States in 1842. Sharon Hill Academy has been made the Motherhouse and Novitiate of the Sisterhood in America. Here in the convent grounds rest the remains of Father Carter, who died in the rectory of the Assumption, September 17, 1879.¹⁰

¹⁰ Father Carter was appointed Vicar General by Bishop Neuman in 1860. He held this office under Bishop and later (1875) Archbishop Wood to the time of his death.

Chandler, Joseph Ripley, was born at Kingston, Massachusetts, August 25, 1792. For nearly sixty-five years he was identified with the life and public spirit of Philadelphia. He held a controlling interest in the *United States Gazette*, one of the oldest news periodicals in this country, when it was sold to the *North American* in 1847.¹¹ Mr. Chandler was member of the City Council, 1832-1848; member of Congress 1849 to 1855; United States Minister at Naples, 1858-1861. He was a Representative at the International Congress held in London, 1872. The date of Mr. Chandler's coming into the Church has not been found. He was not a Catholic when, July, 1833, he was married to Mary H. Jones at St. John's. It is certain that he was a Catholic during the last twenty years of his life.

In 1855, January 10, Mr. Chandler delivered, in Congress, his famous speech on "The Temporal Power of the Pope"—that is, the subject of the freedom of the Catholics in their allegiance to the State in any form of civil government. This Address was reprinted from Congressional Records by the Dolphin Press *Educational Briefs* in 1909.¹² Mr. Chandler died in Philadelphia July 10, 1880.

Connelly, Pierce—born in Philadelphia, August 9, 1804; studied for the ministry, and officiated at Christ Church, Second street above Market, under Bishop William White; married Dec. 1, 1831, Miss Cornelia Augusta Peacock, also of Philadelphia. The Connellys lived in Natchez, Tennessee, 1832 to 1835, where Pierce Connelly was engaged

¹¹ "Mr. Chandler has sold the *Gazette* to the *North American* for \$43,000. The managers (of the *North American*) will have to change their tone if they wish to keep Catholic patronage."—Frenaye to Bishop Kenrick, *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 66.

¹² The occasion for the reprint was a series of "Letters" written by a clerical bloc of anti-Catholic alarmists during the presidential campaign of 1908. The ministers were answered by a public statement in form of a letter addressed to J. C. Martin, Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 6, 1908.

in the work of the ministry. In December, 1835, the Connelly family, now four, father, mother and two children left Natchez *en route* for Rome. In New Orleans, owing to a delay in the date of sailing, Cornelia Peacock Connelly made her profession of faith, was received into the Church and received first Holy Communion at the hands of Bishop Antony Blanc: Pierce Connelly made his submission to Mother Church in Rome, March 27, 1836 (Palm Sunday). The Thursday following, of Holy Week, both husband and wife received together the Sacrament of Confirmation. They returned to the United States about the end of the year 1837. From June 1838 to May 1842 Pierce Connelly was employed as a teacher in St. Charles' College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana. In the summer of 1842 Pierce Connelly returned to Europe. His plan was to ask the Holy See for a canonical separation from his wife in order to prepare himself for the priesthood. The petition for separation by mutual agreement was granted by the Pope, Gregory XVI, March 15, 1844. In 1845, July 6, at Rome Pierce Connelly was ordained priest.

Mrs. Connelly, following the counsel of spiritual directors in Rome, with the explicit approval of the Pope, devoted her life to religion in the establishing of the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus. She left Rome for England in April, 1846; and opened the first house of the new Sisterhood at Derby, October 13 of the same year. The three children¹⁸ were placed in private schools in England.

In 1848 Pierce Connelly began a series of petty annoyances, which developed into systematic persecution, and the scandal of what appears to have been a plan to bring the new Sisterhood under his personal control. The case went

¹⁸ There had been five children. Two died young, before the separation, and are buried at Grand Coteau. Mercer, the oldest, died in New Orleans, 1853, Adeline died in Florence, Italy 1900. Frank is probably still living in Florence.

into the courts in England, Pierce Connelly's plea being that "he could be held liable for debts, contracted by his former wife". After nearly three years of litigation, one decision in 1850 being unfavorable to Mrs. Connelly, the final judgment of Privy Council, June 27, 1851, reversed the earlier decision of the Court of Arches. This secured "Mother Cornelia" in her right, agreed upon in Rome in 1846, to proceed in her work independent of Pierce Connelly's further interference. Pierce Connelly returned to Italy, where he remained to the time of his death. He died in Florence, December 8, 1883, not externally reconciled to the Church.

Connelly, Cornelia Augusta Peacock—Wife of Pierce Connelly, of the preceding notice, was born in Philadelphia, January 15, 1809. The life work and trials of Mother Cornelia after the separation agreed upon in 1845, and the later insane course of Pierce Connelly, and the estrangement of her three children, have hardly a parallel in the hagiography of Christian heroes. The marvel is that she persevered in the face of difficulties and prejudices that seemed insurmountable. At the time of Mother Cornelia's death, April 18, 1879, the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, the first house of which she opened at Derby, October 13, 1846, had schools at St. Leonards-on-sea, Mayfield, London, Neuilly—Paris, with their American Novitiate at Sharon Hill, Pa., the Assumption school, St. Leonard's Academy and St. James' school in Philadelphia. A women's Hospice was opened for Catholic resident women students at Oxford in 1907—St. Frideswide's, Cherwell Edge, Oxford.

Connelly, John, brother of Pierce Connelly, formerly of Philadelphia; was received into the Church in Kentucky, in the "Chapel of St. Mary's College, July 23, 1841"; was confirmed and received Holy Communion the following

Sunday in the Chapel of the Sisters of Loreto. During the period of storm, and the later gloom of his brother Pierce in Europe, John Connelly remained true to the faith and the sympathetic friend of Mother Cornelia.¹⁴

Cooke, Charles was born in Philadelphia about 1809; received into the Church by Bishop Kenrick, November 15, 1843; died March 12, 1849. Charles Cooke was a generous benefactor to the Seminary. He bequeathed, at his death the sum of five thousand dollars to Bishop Kenrick for the Seminary. Three of the children of Charles Cooke's sister, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Cooke Longstreth, wife of Judge Longstreth, became Catholics before his death, and, after his death, both the sister and her husband.¹⁵ But in 1849 no member of Mr. Cooke's immediate family excepting the Longstreth children, were Catholics. He was buried, therefore in the grave lot of his brother John Cooke in Laurel Hill Cemetery, where his remains rest now.

Cooper, Francis of St. John's Philadelphia, was received into the Church by Father Dubuisson (probably at St. Joseph's)—See *Kenrick-Allen Letters*—ccxi—Francis Cooper died March 31, 1853—(See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 355).

Cooper, Samuel Sutherland—Was Virginian by birth, engaged in commerce and shipping in Philadelphia before 1807; was instructed in the Faith by Father Michael Hurley at St. Augustine's, and there received into the Church by

¹⁴ See RECORDS, March, 1920, *Sketch of the Life of Mother Cornelia Connelly*.

¹⁵ See Longstreth below, also Joseph and Lydia Cooke Middleton. It is a fact worthy of note that the conversion of Charles Cooke, in 1843, was followed, within a space of less than twelve years, by the coming into the Church of at least fifteen of his immediate family and kindred—his two sisters Lydia and Mary, their husbands, Joseph Middleton and Judge Morris Longstreth, the seven Middleton children, and three of the children of the Longstreth family.

Bishop Carroll on "Visitation" in the fall of 1807.¹⁶ In 1808 he was a student in the Seminary in Baltimore, and was ordained priest in 1818. The work of Mr. Cooper on American missions extends over a period of about twelve years. In 1819 he was at Emmitsburg, Maryland. In 1821, when Bishop England came to the diocese of Charleston, South Carolina, he refers to the mission at Augusta, Georgia, attended by Mr. Cooper. During the years 1823 to 1827 Father Cooper ministered to the faithful in Richmond, Virginia; 1828-1829 he was in Philadelphia. In 1831 he left for France, and spent the remaining years of his life in the diocese of Bordeaux under the jurisdiction of Cardinal Cheverus, formerly first Bishop of Boston—1810-1823. Father Cooper died December 16, 1843. The Catholic Directory, 1845, in the notice of his death, recalls the fact that Mr. Cooper had been one of the early benefactors of Mother Seton's Sisters at Emmitsburg. The amount stated is eight thousand dollars.

Fay, Sigourney W.—born in Philadelphia, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania in the class of 1897; prepared for the ministry, was "ordained", and, for some time stationed at the church of the Transfiguration, Thirty-fourth street, Philadelphia, later taught theological branches in Nashotah Seminary, Wisconsin; was received into the Church in 1909 at Deal Beach, New Jersey; ordained priest by Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore, June, 1910; died in New York, January, 10, 1919 at the rectory of Our Lady of

¹⁶ Mrs. Seton in a letter written November 20, 1807, speaks of this fact: "Mr. Hurley is making brilliant conversions in Philadelphia. A Mr. Cooper of great intellectual attainments waited a few weeks ago on Bishop White and other clergymen of note, inquiring their *reasons of separation*, and finding them as *they are*, was received on the Visitation at St. Augustine's church. He is of family and fortune, and it therefore makes a great noise, as also the conversion of one of their most fashionable women, a Mrs. Montgomery."—*Memoir and Letters of Elisabeth Seton*, vol. i, p. 317.

Lourdes, where he was visiting his friend Doctor Joseph McMahon.

Fetterman, Wilfrid Washington was received into the Church apparently in Pittsburg. Bishop Kenrick's *Diary* notes the fact that "Wilfrid W. Fetterman, a lawyer of repute, who was converted to the Faith some few years ago" was among the number (one hundred and ninety) whom he confirmed in the church of St. Paul, Pittsburg, May the eighth, 1834. In 1838 Mr. Fetterman, it seems, was living in Philadelphia. Mark Antony Frenaye in a letter of the thirty-first of July of that year, reports to Bishop Kenrick that "Mr. Fetterman continues very ill" "His wife is much alarmed". According to St. John's Vault Records Mr. Fetterman died December 15, 1838—See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 19—also *Records*, 1912, p. 232.

Foote, George C. was rector of the church of St. Thomas (Episcopalian) in the White Marsh Valley, near Chestnut Hill, about 1852 to 1855, when he, his wife and family came into the Church. Later, 1857 to 1860, George C. Foote was employed as a teacher ("principal") in St. Augustine's school, Philadelphia. He died in Philadelphia in 1861.¹⁷

Haldeman, Samuel Steman, was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania in 1812; attended local schools; 1826-1828 studied at Keagy's Academy in Harrisburg; later at Dickinson College, leaving there in 1830; was at the University of Pennsylvania 1833-1834. Lectured on Zoology in The Franklin Institute, South Seventh Street, Philadelphia, 1841 and after. In 1850 to 53 he held the chair of "Natural History" in the University of Pennsylvania; taught the same subject in Delaware College, Newark Delaware, 1855-1858. From 1876 to the time of his death in

¹⁷ See *RECORDS*, 1901, pp. 261-262.

1880 (Sept. 10) he taught comparative philology in the University of Pennsylvania. Haldeman was received into the Church at St. John's, Philadelphia, April 23, 1842.¹⁸

Haldeman was a frequent contributor to periodicals of his time. There is a list of one hundred and twenty-two papers, including larger works, on his favorite studies—language and natural history—printed in the *Records*, 1898, page 283-290. Among the larger contributions to these subjects are two volumes on "*Freshwater Univalve Mollusca of the United States*", Philadelphia, 1845; "*Mono-graphie de Genere Leptaxis*", Paris, 1847. The studies in philology cover a wide range. There are monographs on the "pronunciation of Latin", on "the power of the Greek ζ "; on "Pennsylvania Dutch", on "the Phonology of the Wyandots"; "some points in linguistic Ethnology, with Illustrations chiefly from the Aboriginal Languages of America".

Haldeman, Horace, brother of Samuel was born in Lancaster County 1820; served as second Lieutenant in the Mexican war; was received into the Church by Bishop Kenrick in Philadelphia, Nov. 13, 1849; settled in Texas; entered Confederate army in command of "Mechlin's Battery of Light Artillery". Died at Calvert Texas, Sept. 11, 1884.

Hare, Robert*—Convert in Philadelphia in 1840—In a

¹⁸ Yesterday S. S. Haldeman, Professor of Zoology, was baptized by me."—*Kenrick Letters*, p. 148.

Professor Haldeman was buried from St. Peter's church, Columbia, Pa., September, 1880.

*ROBERT HARE is the name of one of the eight lay trustees of St. Mary's Church elected April 2, 1844. In a record of the minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 19, 1844, a Bill is presented "from Robt. Hare, Esq. for expenses incurred in traveling on behalf of the Church amounting to (?), which, on motion was ordered to be paid by the Treasurer".

In this same Board meeting, July 19, 1844, "Mr. Carter laid before the Board the resignation of Robt. Hare from membership as Trustee of St. Mary's Church—which on being read, was accepted".

letter to Bishop Kenrick written Oct. 20, 1840 Marc Antony Frenaye says: "Mr. Hare has taken an important step. He has just made his first Communion at St. Joseph's, and very soon he will marry Mademoiselle Depestre".

The Catholic Herald, November 19, 1840, notes that "Robert Hare will lecture in Carroll Hall soon".¹⁹

Horner, William Edmonds, M.D.—was born at Warrenton, Virginia, June 3, 1793—died at Philadelphia, March 13, 1853. He studied medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, served in military hospitals during the war of 1812 on the Canadian frontiers both before and after graduation. Graduated Doctor of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania 1814. After the end of the war, at the close of the year 1814, he practiced medicine for some time in his native place, Warrenton. In 1817 he was assigned to the position of "Prosector" in the department of Anatomy under Doctor Wistar in the University of Pennsylvania. From 1822 to 1852 he was Dean of the Medical School in the University, and from 1831 to the time of his death Professor of Anatomy. He published during the years of his active teaching (1) *Special Anatomy and Histology*, eighth edition, in two vols., 1851. (2) *Dissector and Lessons in Practical Anatomy*, fifth edition remodeled by Henry H. Smith, 1856. (3) *Anatomical Atlas*.^{19a}

The date of Doctor Horner's coming into the Church remains undiscovered. Bishop Kenrick in his Diary records the fact of his Confirmation by Bishop Hughes, then Coadjutor of New York, thus:

"April the eighteenth day, 1842 Bishop John Hughes confirmed Doctor William E. Horner in the church of Saint John the Evangelist (Philadelphia)". In a letter written

¹⁹ I have thus far found no other mention or notice of Robert Hare. F. E. T.

^{19a} Allibone, *English Authors*, under Horner many times reissued.

to Father Paul Cullen (later Cardinal) February 18, 1840, Bishop Kenrick says: "Dr. Horner, Professor of Anatomy, was received into the Church by Bp. Hughes previous to his departure".²⁰ Again in 1844, March 18, in another letter to the same, the Bishop says: "Dr. Horner, an eminent physician, who about six years ago embraced the faith and was received in the Church by Bishop Hughes, sends his work on Special Anatomy as a mark of respect to his Holiness. His daughter, a child I believe, has wrought with her own hands the marks which are inserted for the reader's convenience".²¹

Doctor Horner was, as indicated by a letter of Bishop Kenrick, one of the promoters of the plan to establish St. Joseph's Hospital in 1849.²² The *Resolution* of the Hospital's Board of Managers at the time of his death shows that he was then still one of its staff of physicians—"Senior Surgeon"—Doctor Horner died March 13, 1853.

Johnson—Miss, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, born of Quaker parents; in 1819. She was received into the Church in 1845. In 1857 Miss Johnson entered the Novitiate of the Visitation, Mount de Sales, Catonsville, Baltimore, receiving the name Sister Mary Bernard. Soon after her profession in 1858, she was appointed Mistress of Novices. She held this office many years. She died May 25, 1887.—See *Kenrick-Allen Letters* LIII—LXXVIII—XCIX—CXXXII.

Longstreth, Morris, born Dec. 3, 1800; married Mary Elizabeth Cooke, sister of Charles Cooke, a convert in 1843,

²⁰ It seems probable from these letters that Doctor Horner was received into the Church in New York by Bishop Hughes previous to a visit to Europe in 1839.

²¹ See *Records*, 1896, vol. vii, pp. 304-314.

²² The Bishop speaks of a plan to establish a Hospital in the house which is now the Cathedral Clergy Residence, in 1846. This was "in accordance with the design of Doctor Horner."—*Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, pp. 224-225.

sister also of the wife of Joseph Middleton, a convert in 1854. Morris Longstreth was twice appointed Associate Judge of Montgomery County. Judge Longstreth was received into the Church a short time before his death about the end of April 1855. His wife, Mary Elizabeth Cooke Longstreth came into the Church at the same time. Three of the Longstreth's children, as given below, had been received into the Church before their parents. This probably was due to the influence of the children's uncle, Charles Cooke, their mother's brother who made his home with his sister at "Valley Green" in the White Marsh Valley.

Longstreth, Mary Elizabeth Cooke Longstreth, wife of Judge Longstreth, as above received into the Church in 1855; died, November 30, 1872.

Longstreth, George C. son of Judge Morris Longstreth as above; baptized March 10, 1847, at the age of fourteen; died January 15, 1851.

Longstreth, Joseph C., brother of the above, baptized July 24, 1847; a student at Villanova, 1847-1850; died April 29, 1864, the result of illness contracted in the service during the civil war.

Longstreth, Lydia C., sister of the above; baptized at the age of seven, together with her brother Joseph; attended school at Eden Hall; married Jesse Tomlinson; died November 2, 1890. The Longstreths, parents and three children are buried in the "Old Cathedral" Cemetery.²³

²³ Two older children of Judge Longstreth, John and Charles, the former of whom was for some time a student at Georgetown, did not become Catholics. The Catholic side of the family name ends with the death of the mother, Mary Elizabeth Cooke Longstreth, November 30, 1872.

Major, Henry—Rector of All Saints' Church, Moyamensing, in Philadelphia. He was received into the Church May 25, 1846;²⁴ was editor of the *Catholic Herald* 1847-1855. In 1846 he published "Reasons for acknowledging the authority of the Holy Roman See", known generally as "Major's Reasons"—The book is:

Inscribed
Most respectfully
To the
RIGHT REV. FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, D.D.
Bishop of Philadelphia

In whom the author had the consolation to find
more than a father
in the most momentous period
of his life.

In 1856 Major was estranged from allegiance to the Church, but returned "repentant and humbled" in less than two years after his defection. In a letter written at Easter time 1858, Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick says: "He comes back repentant and humbled in spirit. This is evident from a letter addressed to me. It appears that he fell away on occasion of the late definition (the Immaculate Conception) irritated also by another cause. He hammered the Church, Priest and Prelates unmercifully; but the grace of God tamed him, when his wife, who had remained Catholic, told him that the good priest, Father John F. Aiken, S.J., wished to visit him".²⁵ He made public profession of his Faith and was received back into sacramental communion with the Church in the church of the Holy Trinity, Baltimore, Palm Sunday, 1858. After his reconciliation, Major, who was then employed in the Postoffice department in Washington, D.C., published under the pen name of Aug-

²⁴ See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 226. See also for Major's defection and later his reconciliation, *ibidem*, pp. 400-408-409. For Major's work on the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 417-422.

²⁵ *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 409.

ustine Bede "*Letters to an Episcopalian on the Origin, History and Doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer*". Kelly, Hedian and Piet, Baltimore 1859.²⁶ Major died in New York, April 23, 1873, was buried in Philadelphia, in the "Old Cathedral" Cemetery.

Maturin, Basil, born in Ireland in 1847, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin; joined the "Cowley Fathers" at Cowley St. John's, Oxford, later came to the United States, where he earned a reputation as a preacher at St. Clement's, Philadelphia. He was received into the Church at Beaumont, England in 1897; was ordained priest in 1898; lived as a chaplain at Oxford. Father Marturin was one of the eleven hundred and fifty-three whose lives were lost on the *Lusitania* which was sunk off the Irish coast, May 7, 1915. Father Maturin's ascetic works have a virile force, a clearness and conciseness, quite exceptional in modern books on the subject of asceticism. His published works are:

- (1) Laws of the Spiritual Life.
- (2) Some Principles and Practices of Spiritual Life.
- (3) Practical Studies in the Parables of Our Lord.
- (4) Self Knowledge and Self Discipline.
- (5) The Price of Unity.
- (6) Fruits of the Life of Prayer.
- (7) Sermons and Sermon Notes.

Middleton—The Joseph Middleton Family, 1854.

The same note of human interest which appeals to us in the conversion and the Catholic life of the family of George Allen, is found again in the conversion and the coming into the Church of Joseph Middleton, his wife, Lydia Cooke Middleton and seven ²⁷ children during the month of April, 1854, at their home, "Monticello" ²⁸ Chestnut Hill.

²⁶ See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, pp. 417-422.

²⁷ There were nine children in this family. One died before the

Middleton, Joseph, born in 1814, was descended from John Middleton and his wife, Esther Gilberthorp, who lived at Chesterfield, Monmouth County, New Jersey in the eighteenth century. Joseph was the son of Gabriel Middleton of Philadelphia, the youngest of nine children, and the only child of his second marriage with Margaret McKee Longstreth. In 1837 Joseph Middleton married Lydia Barton Cooke, a sister of Charles Cooke, the convert of 1843 described above. The home, "Monticello", at the northern end of what is now the "Wissahickon Drive", was acquired in 1839. The walls of the original Middleton home still remain (1922) a part of the Convent home of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Here the nine children of Joseph Middleton and Lydia Cooke Middleton were born.

Joseph Middleton was received into the Church by Fr. Michael Domenec, C.M., later Bishop of Pittsburg, April 4, 1854. The mother, Lydia Cooke Middleton and seven children, ranging in age from twelve years to less than one year, were received in the home "Monticello", April 19, 1854. Three of these children are still living—Thomas Cooke Middleton, D.D., O.S.A., born March 30, 1842, one of the Charter members, and the first President of the American Catholic Historical Society (1884) now in his eighty-first year, at Villanova College. Mrs. Ambrose Aman (Florence Middleton) born May 18, 1853, now living at Mt. Airy, Mrs. F. X. Kelly (Mary Cooke Middleton), born April 20, 1850, living now in Philadelphia. Two entered the "Institute of the Sisters of Mercy" in Baltimore, Margaret, born 1848, in religion Sister Mary

conversion of the parents, and is buried in the Friends' burying ground, "Plymouth Meeting," Montgomery County. The youngest, Agnes Brady, was born after the parents came into the Church, May 6, 1855. She died Apr. 10, 1859.

²⁸ "Monticello," the Middleton home, now the Motherhouse of the Sisters of St. Joseph—Mt. St. Joseph's Convent and Academy.

Bonaventure, died in Baltimore, February 22, 1920; Emily, born July 20, 1851, in religion Sister Mary Austin, died July 3, 1913.²⁹

It was through the efforts of Joseph Middleton chiefly, his persevering energy, earnestness and generosity, that St. Mary's church was built at Chestnut Hill, on land purchased originally in his own name, and the name of his wife, Lydia Cooke Middleton, in 1854-1855 (See *Records*, 1901, pp. 146, et seq.) Joseph Middleton died at his home, "Woodside" on the heights overlooking the Wissahickon, October 18, 1887, aged 73; Lydia Cook Middleton died nine years later, 1896, March 31, at the age of eighty-four.

Montgomery, Rachel, Mrs. (born Harvey), was received into the Church at St. Augustine's probably in 1807.³⁰ She attended St. Mary's under Bishop Egan's administration (See Griffin's *Life of Egan*, p. 23.) She died at her home, 128 (now 606) Arch street, in 1819.

Newland, William Augustine—was born in London, England, November 2, 1813, died at Roxborough, Philadelphia, November 28, 1901—Teacher of music, organist for more than sixty years in Philadelphia churches. He was educated in Eton Preparatory school and received his first training on the violin in the Royal Academy; sang solo soprano and solo alto in St. Paul's Cathedral. He came to America in 1832; was employed as paper-hanger in Philadelphia (his father's business in London); took pupils on violin at night, and sang in the choir at St. Augustine's; was received into the Church on Whitsunday,

²⁹ The other members of the family now dead, were Lydia Cooke Middleton, born 1844, June 28, died in 1904, Aug. 4, John Cooke Middleton, born 1846, July 13, died in 1847; Virginia, twin, born with Emily 1851, died April 4, 1859; Agnes Brady, noted above, born 1855, died 1859, April 10.

³⁰ See reference in Mother Seton's letter under notice of Samuel Cooper, above. See *RECORDS*, 1912, pp. 50-66.

1833 by Father Michael Hurly at St. Augustine's; married Susan Colgan in 1834. Mr. Newland was organist at St. Mary's, then the Cathedral, in 1835. In 1838 he was at St. Augustine's; 1839 to 1841 at Holy Trinity; 1842-1844 at St. Joseph's; 1844-1852 at St. John's. In 1848-1852 he taught music at Villanova College; 1852-1864 he taught chant at the Seminary at Eighteenth and Race and at Glen Riddle. 1852-1868 he was for the second time organist at St. Joseph's; 1868 to 1870 at St. Patrick's; 1870 to 1879 a second time at St. John's. From 1879 to 1897 he had charge of the organ and music in St. John's, Manayunk. October 1, of the latter year, 1897, he retired from active service after more than sixty-three years devoted to music in Philadelphia.^{30a}

Peacock, Mary Francis, sister of Mother Cornelia Peacock Connelly; was received into the Church while visiting her sister Mrs. Connelly at Grand Coteau, February 3, 1840. In June, 1841, Mary Francis Peacock was received as an aspirant into the Convent of the Madames of the Sacred Heart at Grand Coteau; transferred, while still a Novice, to McSherrystown, Pennsylvania, later to school in Logan Square, Philadelphia, thence to Eden Hall in 1847; was Superior successively in Convents in Halifax, Albany, N. Y., St. Louis, Mo., Chicago, Ill.; Assistant Superior in Philadelphia, 1867; Superior in Richester, New York in 1870, where she died December 24, 1871.

Robins, Edward, was born in Philadelphia in 1822, the son of Thomas Robins, and grandson of Edward Robins of South Point, Worcester County, Maryland. The Plantation there had come into the Robins family by inter-marriage with the Whalleys. The homestead had been built by Edward Whalley, one of the members of Parliament who

^{30a}See sketch of Mr. Newland written by his friend Francis X. Reuss in *RECORDS*, 1902, pp. 285-324.

signed the death warrant of King Charles I of England. Through Edward Whalley Mr. Robins was a direct descendant of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook, the grandfather of Oliver Cromwell. His earliest American ancestor was Obedience Robins, who came to Virginia in 1621.

Edward Robins was educated in private schools in and near Philadelphia; later was engaged in manufacturing and mercantile interests, and lived for some time in St. Louis. Subsequently returned to Philadelphia, retired from active business and went to France to live. He came back to Philadelphia in 1862, and went into the banking business. A short time after returning to this country from France Mr. Robins was received in to the Church in the Sisters' Chapel at Eden Hall, near Torresdale, where his daughters were at school. In 1868 he married (his second marriage) Miss Marie Elise Chatard of the prominent Catholic family of Baltimore (Her father was the late Captain Frederick Chatard of U. S. Navy, later Commodore in the Confederate Navy). Mr. Robins was an active member of the "Catholic Club" of Philadelphia, organized in 1877. He was a Director of the Beneficial Saving Fund, and for many years, by appointment of the Board of Judges, a member of the Board of Inspectors of the Philadelphia County Prison, where he exercised a strong Christian influence. Mr. Robins died March 27, 1896, and was buried from old St. Joseph's, Willing's Alley, Philadelphia.

Shaw, Oliver A.—Formerly in charge of All Saints' Church, Philadelphia; received into the Church by the Bishop of Mobile (Portier) April 5, 1853. His son, a graduate of Spring Hill College, was received a few weeks before, on his death bed.⁸¹ (*Kenrick-Allen Letters xxxi*).

⁸¹ See also Metropolitan, Baltimore, 1853, p. 195 All Saints Church, Episcopalian, Twelfth Street, below Fitzwater.

Spencer, Serena—"formerly of Philadelphia", was confirmed, together with "Miss Abercrombie, granddaughter of the late (British) Minister in Washington in 1855" (Kenrick-Allen Letters *LIV*, *LV*. See also *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 396.

Strobel, George—was born in London, England, June 14, 1800; came to America, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia February 25, 1828. In 1835 he was appointed U. S. Consul at Bordeaux; there he met the Rev. Samuel S. Cooper, formerly of Philadelphia, who directed his reading. He was received into the Church at St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, in 1843, later studied in Rome, where he was ordained priest March 8, 1846 for the diocese of Philadelphia. Father Strobel was appointed rector of St. Mary's, Philadelphia in 1848, and remained in that charge to the time of his death, October 26, 1874.

Waldron, Edmund Quincy Sheafe was born in New Hampshire about 1811; graduate of Dartmouth College, studied law; was received into the Church by Bishop Kenrick in Philadelphia probably in 1841;²² ordained priest, December 18, 1847. For some years Father Waldron attended mission in South Jersey²³ from Philadelphia. In 1859 Father Waldron went to Baltimore, where Kenrick, then archbishop says that he assisted in the literary work of

²² In a letter written to Mrs. George Allen, Oct. 4, 1859 Bishop Kenrick says of Father Waldron: "It is now eighteen years since I received him into the Church."—See *Kenrick-Allen Letters* published in the *Records*, XCIII.

²³ Bishop Kenrick's *Diary* has the following entry: "November the nineteenth day—I confirmed twenty-seven in the church of St. Mary of the Assumption in a town called Pleasant Mills (now Millville), in Atlantic County, New Jersey. Twenty received Holy Communion. Under the zealous care of the Rev. Edmund S. Waldron the life of religion is vigorous in this congregation: but the people live scattered here and there, from the church.—*Diary*, p. 251.

the Bible translations.⁸⁴ In later years, and up to the time of his death Father Waldon was Rector of the church at Pikesville, Maryland. He died in Baltimore, April 16, 1888.

Wolff, George Dering, born at Martinsburg (now) West Virginia, August 25, 1822. His father was the Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, D.D. of the German Reformed church; studied at Marshall College.⁸⁵ After graduating he studied law, but later took up the ministry (German Reformed); received into the Church in 1871. During the same year, 1871, he took editorial charge of the *Philadelphia Catholic Standard*. This editorial position he retained to the time of his death in 1894. In 1876 *The American Catholic Quarterly* was begun chiefly under the direction of Mr. Wolff, the Rev. James O'Connor (this same year Vicar Apostolic and later first Bishop of Omaha), and the Rev. James A. Corcoran—George Dering Wolff died at his home in Norristown, January 29, 1894.

⁸⁴ See *Kenrick-Allen Letters*, published in the *Records*, XCIII-XCV.

⁸⁵ Probably under influence of John Williamson Nevin, founder of the "Mercersburg Theology," who was head of Marshall College 1841-1853.

THE QUESTION ABOUT SHAKESPEARE'S RELIGION

THE STATE OF THE QUESTION AND A STUDY OF THE
MANUSCRIPT NOTE OF RICHARD DAVIES

"HE DYED A PAPIST"

By PROF. GEORGE B. ALLEN, University of Pennsylvania 1845-1876.

Written probably before 1854

The following observations of Mr. Allen on the problem of Shakespeare's religion are transcribed from a manuscript written probably between the years 1848 and 1854. The original is now in the possession of the American Catholic Historical Society a gift to the Society from Mr. Gregory B. Keen, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and formerly one of the executors of Mr. Allen's Will. The study is offered to the readers of the *Records*, not because Shakespeare or Shakespeare's religion belongs particularly to American history; but the fact is of historic interest that George Bernard Allen, a recognized authority on Shakespeare, a close friend formerly of Howard Furness, a Catholic, a convert, "one of the most distinguished professors in the annals of the University of Pennsylvania,"¹ is a pioneer in the endeavor to solve the problem of Shakespeare's Faith and religion. Before Richard Simpson took up the question in the *Rambler* in 1854 and again in 1858, forty years before the results of Mr. Simpson's research were collected and published by Bowden, Mr. Allen, in this paper, has marked the way to a critical study of one point at

¹ See letter of Morris Jastrow, Jr. to F. E. T. quoted in the *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, page 265.

least in the problem, the point of external evidence, i. e. If it is not proved that Shakespeare lived a Catholic, it is recorded that "he died a Papist".

THE QUESTION ABOUT SHAKESPEARE'S RELIGION

The discussion concerning the religion of Shakespeare has always hitherto been conducted with a view to answering the question in its widest scope, and has sought its proofs almost exclusively in the expositions of faith put into the mouths of his characters. As such expressions are purely dramatic, it is obvious that no perfectly satisfactory results can be obtained from them *directly*—at all events none have been drawn. The Protestant inquirer finds him to have spoken as a true son of the Established Church should have done, while the Catholic can conceive that no one but one who was a Catholic at heart could have said certain things which he has said. Protestants have been divided in their opinion of his religion; for although Bp. Wordsworth holds him up as quite a model churchman, the Rev. Mr. Birch (an ecclesiastic of the same establishment) proves him to have been an atheist. In like manner Charles Butler put the name of Shakespeare foremost among the Poets who have held the Catholic faith. The Oxford editors of the *Rambler* (a superior Catholic periodical) gave their opinion quite decidedly that Shakespeare was no Catholic at all.²

When it is thus proved that certain results are not to be

² This statement in reference to the *Rambler* enables us to fix a time limit for the origin of Mr. Allen's study. In the *Rambler* of August 26, 1848, is a review of the work of W. J. Birch—"An Inquiry into the Philosophy and Religion of Shakspeare" (sic). The view of the reviewer in this paper is quite clearly that "Shakespeare was no Catholic." In July, 1854 and March, April, May, 1858 of the *Rambler* are articles, not signed, but now known to have been written by Mr. Richard Simpson, in which the writer brings out points of evidence and shows strong probabilities for holding that Shakespeare remained true to the old religion. Mr. Allen's study evidently was made some time between 1848 and 1854.

obtained from the examination of *internal* evidence, it becomes obviously desirable to ascertain whether there be any *external* evidence to the point; and, if such evidence exists, then to weigh well its authority, and to see what support it may receive from the internal evidence and from circumstances, which might not amount to evidence by themselves. Now it is a singular fact that although one piece of such direct external evidence has been known and published since 1790, it has never been seriously scrutinized, and has even been tacitly ignored. It is to this one piece of evidence that I now direct attention.

In 1688 the Rev. William Fulman bequeathed to the Rev. Richard Davies, Rector of Lepperton in Gloucestershire and Archdeacon of Lichfield, several Ms. volumes of biography, which he had himself written. Fulman (Davies ?) made additions to this collection; and at his death in 1707 the whole passed into the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where they now are. Malone printed the article in this MS. which related to Shakespeare in 1790. Halliwell has reproduced the same article, with the interlined additions of Davies printed in italics. From this I copy it as follows:

"William Shakespeare was borne at Statford upon the Avon in Worcestershire about 1563-4. From an actor of plays he became a composer. He dyed Apr. 23, 1616, aetat. 53, probably at Stratford, for there he is buried, and hath a monument. *Much given to all unluckiness in stealing venison and rabbits, particularly from Sir Lucy, who had him oft whipt an sometimes imprisoned, and at last made him fly his native country to his great advancement; but his rising was so great that he is his Justice Clodpate; and calls him a great man; and that in alusion to his name bore three horses rampant for his arms. He dyed a papist.*"

It may account for the neglect, under which this distinct and positive testimony has lain, that Collier, in his *Life*,

omitted the last sentence, that the Rev. W. Hudson has done the same: and that Wm. Knight in his Biography (of Shakespeare) has made the same mutilation. Nutt and Fullman (?) do not give the document; they merely allude to it. The Rev. Mr. Hunter and Halliwell bestow but like attention on the passage, but they present it honestly.

Let us examine this piece of testimony as it stands.

(1) It (the testimony) is that of a man of unimpeached and unimpeachable character—a beneficed clergyman, afterward a higher ecclesiastic of the Church of England (2) The Rev. Rector of Lepperton lived in the neighboring county of Gloucester, forty or fifty miles south of Stratford; as Archdeacon of Lichfield (if he resided there) about the same distance to the North. He lived, therefore, where he was likely to have more than one opportunity to gather up traditions of the place on the spot. (3) He made *few* additions to the biographical notices left by his friend: the circumstances therefore, that he made additions to that of Shakespeare indicates that he was aware of Shakespeare's having been eminent enough to deserve special notice, and that he had made *special* inquiries (or, at the least, had received special information) in his case. (4) He shows himself ecclesiastically ignorant of plays and players: he is the man likely, therefore, (argues Mr. Collier) to have recorded simply what he heard, without altering or interpreting it. (5) He must have gathered his information (whether at Stratford itself, or from others who had been there) about the same time as Batterton [?] and Dorsdale [?] did (unless he merely *recorded* between the date of getting Fulman's MS. and his death what he had learned earlier, which makes the case stronger in his favor)—i. e. between 1688 and 1707. The information gathered by these three men at this period appears to have been derived from nearly the same sources, with this exception in the Rev. Mr. Davies' favour, that he had obtained more detailed information on some points than the others.

It deserves to be noted that reasonably good authority for the Life of Shakespeare must have existed until very near the period at which Batterton, [?] Davies and Dorsdale made their inquiries. Lady Bernard [?] (Shakespeare's granddaughter), who lived near Stratford, did not die until 1669-70: and the inn at Stratford was kept from at least 1669 to 1702 by one of the descendants of Joan, Shakespeare's favorite sister. The domestic incident of Shakespeare's apparent reconciliation to the old Church was likely to be among the traditions retained by these descendants. As an ecclesiastic he (Davies) had naturally inquired and learned about the Poet's religion. Batterton, the player, and Dorsdale, the lawyer, might be expected to be less interested on this point, and therefore either not to have inquired or not to have thought it worth while to preserve the answers. (6) It is the admission of an adversary, and therefore to be construed as strongly in favor of what is reported, as that of a Catholic would be against. It is the case of an eminent ecclesiastic of the Church of England that one, whom the witness regarded as a distinguished author, had abjured, on his death bed, the religion which he had before ostensibly professed, and had sought reconciliation with a Church, which was then even more, far more odious in England than now. Mr. Davies cannot have been one of those churchmen, who, at different periods, have leaned towards Rome; for he speaks of the Catholic as a "Papist", a term never applied except as a term of reproach. The phraseology, too, is as curt and dry as possible. Davies appears to have recorded with a certain *gusto* his informant's gossip about deer-stealing; but what he learned of Shakespeare's change of religion he records like an honest man, who feels bound to tell the truth, but who was determined to make as short work as possible with the bitter pill. (7) Let it be remarked that the language of the reverend witness is not only curt, but positive. There

is no: "It is said", "Some persons believe," and the like. It is not said that his writings show him to have been a Papist. Davies records drily and positively as a *fact* what had been told him as a fact. If he collected his information on the spot (as Halliwell supposes), it is not likely that he would have accepted so unwelcome a statement without inquiring into the evidence for it: and although he has *given* no such evidence, he has made his own statement with the positiveness of one who knew he *had* evidence. (8) It is not positive merely, it is *precise*. Nearly all the writers who have mentioned Davies's statement, have entirely overlooked this, its peculiar characteristic. They appear to understand Davies as saying that Shakespeare was a Catholic, i. e. that he had been through life a Catholic—a statement which they would be at liberty to impugn by producing language at variance with the opinions and feelings of a true Catholic in his works, by pointing out the impossibility of his being a favorite author or player had he been a Catholic, and so on. But Davis says nothing of the kind. He says that "Shakespeare *died* a Papist". The very expression shows that Davies does not give the fact as an *inference* from Shakespeare's works. It seems surprising that this precise statement should be understood in any other sense, than that Shakespeare, after having *lived* in communion with the Protestant Church of England (so far as he had any particular church communion), became reconciled to the Church of Rome in his last sickness, and died a Catholic.

If the Rev. Mr. Davies had added to this naked statement: "This I was told at the *Maidenhead Inn* by the innkeeper, a grand-nephew of the Poet," not a mouth could reasonably be opened to deny it, or argue against it. As it is, although it must be taken *prime facie* as authentic until it is invalidated, it is quite open to discussion: it is competent for an objector to show (if he can) that there are sufficient antecedent probabilities to overcome the authenticity

of a single writer, even if he be one of such weight as the Archdeacon of Lichfield: and it is competent for a defender to show (if he can) that Davies's positive statement is so amply sustained by every antecedent probability, and so little weakened by the antecedent improbabilities urged against it, that no necessity is felt (for) knowing^a from what particular source it was derived."

Now it is difficult to say what precisely *are* the antecedent probabilities. The Rev. Joseph Hunter calls it "exceedingly improbable", but he is far enough from *showing* it to be so, for he admits that Shakespeare's religious opinions (as gathered from his works) prove him to have been at least as far removed from Geneva as from Rome, that, in his aversion to the Puritan party within the Church of England, he had a kind feeling towards the Old Faith. Such a state of mind is by no means inconsistent with taking a further step on his deathbed. Halliwell scouts the idea without, apparently, thinking it worthy of one moment's serious consideration. Mr. Neill, arguing solely and ably against (the view that) Shakespeare *lived* a Catholic, proving, that is, that Shakespeare could not have been a popular favorite as a dramatic author or actor, if he had been an avowed Catholic; and that, had he been a serious Catholic even in disguise, he could not have uttered certain un-Catholic sentiments of his without hypocrisy. (Saying this Neill) *thinks* he has disposed of the question, when he has not even approached it. The truth is, the change of a born Englishman from the national Church to the Church of Rome appears to a loyal, sturdy supporter of Church and State to be a step so thoroughly un-English—it is so unallowable to him, that he himself could ever under any circumstances be induced to take such a step,—that it is no wonder Hunter, Halliwell, Collier, Wordsworth, and the

^a This should read, perhaps: that no necessity is felt for further proof to show from what particular source it was derived.

rest, should look on the statement that the myriad-minded Shakespeare had been guilty of so mad an act as too improbable to be believed upon any testimony short of the verdict of twelve jurymen.

Mr. Allen's paper ends here quite abruptly. A note on the margin, referring evidently to the closing sentence, says: All this belongs elsewhere after reciting the statement.—It appears, from this marginal note, that Mr. Allen's plan originally was a more complete development of arguments and reasons to sustain the eight points of evidence, which he has studied thoroughly here and brought out clearly and strongly. A complete synopsis of notes and references to sources, ten pages of foolscap, in which volume, page and the edition of works cited are carefully noted, seems also to point to a plan of wider range and development. This *Synopsis* has not been printed in the *Records* for obvious reasons. First—It was arranged evidently only to serve as an aid to Mr. Allen's personal study and search. The frequent abbreviations in the text would make the editing of it an extremely difficult task. Second—The references usually are to the older and recognized authorities on the Life of Shakespeare, not now generally available outside the collections of public libraries. The existence of the manuscript *synopsis*, however, proves the thoroughness, the character of Mr. Allen's critical work.



Records
of the
**American Catholic
Historical Society**
of
Philadelphia

WITH WHICH IS COMBINED
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

Published Quarterly by the Society

715 SPANGLER STREET, PHILADELPHIA

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\$2.00 PER YEAR

SINGLE NUMBER, 50 CENTS

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RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XXXIII

DECEMBER, 1922.

No. 4

THE BLACKGOWNS AMONG THE ABNAKIS

BY CARMITA DE SOLMS JONES

Religious light, in the Western hemisphere, broke in the far North-West. Long forgotten records in the Vatican prove that Catholic bishops were in Greenland and Iceland in the fourteenth century and that Peter's Pence was collected there and sent to Rome.

André Thevet, the celebrated French traveller and cosmographer, explored the eastern coast of North and South America in 1556. Returning from his missionary expedition he was made almoner to Queen Catherine di Medici and Historiographer and Cosmographer to her son, the King of France. He wrote *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique*, and *La cosmographie universelle*. In his reports appears Maine's ancient name, "Norembega," which place the Indians called "Agoncy". Succeeding geographers have copied Thevet's vivid description of the river Norembega. Except for the explanation of Gomez' chart, made in 1525, and copied by Rebault on his map in 1529, Thevet's account of Penebscot Bay is considered the most exact.

In 1604, de Monts, another French explorer, accompanied Champlain to the West. He visited Mount Desert and entered the Penobscot River, which he called Pentagoët. On June 18, 1605, he sailed past the mouth of the Penobscot and entered the Kennebec. He raised a cross and established a colony on the Island of St. Croix, taking possession of it in the name of Henry IV of France. It was during his visit to Mount Desert that the first Christian service in Maine was held, bearing out the State's motto "Dirigo"—I lead.

While de Monts was planting the French standard at St. Croix, representatives of English power arrived off the coast. Thomas Arundel, first Lord Arundel of Wardour, and a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, desired to found a refuge in the New World for English Catholics persecuted at home. He financed an expedition commanded by George Weymouth, who sailed from Ratcliff, England, in the Archangel, on March 31, 1605. On May 18, Weymouth sent a boat's crew ashore on an island that he named St. George, but which is now known as Monhegan, a corruption of the original Indian name, Menahan, an island. On the following day, which was Pentecost Sunday, he sailed into the harbor which he called Pentecost. This was later changed to Boothbay Harbor.

At the suggestion of King Henry IV of France, who was probably inspired by Thevet, Father Coton, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, sent Fathers Pierre Biard and Enemond Masse to New France to enlighten the Indians. They attempted to embark at Bordeaux in 1608 but found an apparent disposition to prevent such a step. In 1610 they were at Dieppe, waiting to sail with Potrin-court, the patentee of Port Royall. As passage was refused the Jesuits by the two Huguenot owners of the vessel they retired to the College of Eu. The protectress of the mission, the Duchesse de Guerchville, then collected from sympath-

izers at Court sufficient money to buy the shares of the Huguenots. These were transferred to the missionaries, making them partners of Potrincourt and giving them a fund for their support.

They sailed with Biencourt, the son of the Proprietor, and landed at Port Royall on June 12, 1611. They found there a French priest, Messire Jesse Flèche of Langres. From the accounts he sent to France the colonists were his chief care, although some of the natives were hastily baptized by him. This priest was probably one of those mentioned as being in what was called Maine in 1609. No doubt his unsatisfactory reports helped to stir the French king to action.

A chapel, the first in Maine, stood on Neutral Island in the Scoodic River, but no mention has been found of a mass celebrated there until that by Father Biard in October, 1611.

Fathers Biard and Masse immediately set about learning the Micmac language, spoken by the Souriquois Indians at Port Royall. The ill behavior of Biencourt caused difficulties that were reported to Madame de Guerchville. Owing to the impossibility of making satisfactory arrangements with Potrincourt she determined to found a mission on the Kennebec. A vessel was fitted out, under the command of La Saussaye. It arrived at Port Royall in March, 1613, and took the two priests aboard. With a lay brother, Gilbert du Thet, and Fathers Quentin and Lalemont, who had come with La Saussaye, they sailed for Mount Desert. The pilot's mistake took them to the east side of the island. There they planted a cross, offered Mass and occupied it in the name of France. The settlement was called St. Saviour.

One day Father Biard, while exploring the mainland, heard loud lamentations. He beheld a brave holding his dying child in his arms, surrounded by the wailing villagers.

He immediately baptized the infant and prayed for its recovery. His prayers were heard. This was the first sacrament administered in what is now the State of Maine. It created a very deep impression on the Indians who henceforth regarded Father Biard as almost supernatural.

A fort was built at the settlement and the stores landed. Those not to remain were preparing to embark when a violent storm arose. Some English fishing vessels, commanded by Argall, were driven on the coast. Hearing of the French settlement the English attacked it. The mission was burned and Brother du Thet, who was mortally wounded, died the next day. His hopes were realized, for, said Father Biard: "On departing from Honfleur, in the presence of the whole crew, he raised his hands and eyes to Heaven, praying God that he might never return to France, but that he might die laboring for the conquest of souls and the salvation of the Indians." Thus perished the first Abnaki mission. Only the lonely grave of du Thet, at the foot of the broken cross, remained to guard the land. The behavior of the English had a lasting effect upon the Indians.

Argall permitted some of the colonists to escape and they apparently reached their original destination on the Kennebec. Over the gate of the fort that they built there was a chapel, Our Lady of Holy Hope, its only entrance from the rampart. The old plans still exist.

The other colonists and the priest were taken to Virginia, although Argall had promised to send them to France. The Governor of Virginia ordered the commander and his prisoners to return and destroy Port Royall but the vessels were scattered by a storm. That bearing the missionaries landed at the Azores. In a Catholic port, and without a commission, Argall was at the mercy of Father Biard. The compassionate priest made no appeal to the Portuguese authorities and the vessel finally reached England whence the priests returned to France.

Pierre Biard was born in Grenoble, in the south of France. He was able and deeply learned. After his return to France he became a professor of theology at Lyons. While a chaplain in the army he died at Avignon, November 17, 1622. In a letter to the head of his order, in Paris, dated Port Royall, June 30, 1612, he says:

I have been on two journeys with M. de Biencourt, one of perhaps a dozen days, the other of a month and a half, and we skirted all the coast from Port Royal to Kinebéquie, west-southwest. We entered all the large rivers, St. John, St. Croix, Pentagoët and the aforesaid Kinibéquie; we visited the French, who wintered here this year in two places, on the river St. John and on the St. Croix; the men from St. Malo on the St. John, Captain Plastrier on the St. Croix.

He tells of a mysterious light, "red and bloody, like scarlet," that appeared in the sky, gradually shaping itself into pikes and spindles and hanging over the habitations of the men of St. Malo. The apparition lasted ten minutes. It then faded but immediately commenced again. The natives considered it a sign of war, and cried: "Gara gara; enderquir Garagara;" which means, "We shall have war. Such signs indicate war." The following evening all was confusion and anger amongst the people, "but," says Father Biard, "the compassion of God held them in check."

The second journey with the Sieur de Biencourt was undertaken with the idea of learning the disposition of the Indians to receive the Gospel. They arrived at Kinnibéquie on the day of St. Simon and St. Jude, October 28, 1611. The English had been there in 1608 and were driven away by the Indians in consequence of ill usage. On an island named Emeteni the French raised a cross, bearing the arms of France, as a symbol of their object.

In November the expedition returned to Port Royall,

stopping in accordance with a promise made the Indians, at Pentagoët, which river empties into the Bay of Fundy.

You cannot divine [says Father Biard] what is the Nor-embega of the ancients if it is not this. . . . To give a general summary, this is the fruit of our journey. We have begun to know and to be known; we have taken possession of these regions in the name of the Church of God, placing there the royal throne of our Savior and Monarch, Jesus Christ, in his holy altar; the savages have seen us pray, extol, enjoin by our sermons the images and cross, the manner of living, and like things, [they] have received the first apprehension and seeds of our holy faith, which will shoot forth and germinate abundantly some day, if it pleases God, when they receive a longer and better cultivation.

Enemond Masse, the companion of Father Biard, was born in 1574 and entered the Society of Jesus when twenty-two years of age. When sent to America he was Socius of Father Coton, Provincial of the Order. After escaping from Argall he returned to France and did his utmost to promote the mission on the Kennebec. In 1625 the mission was restored and Father Masse went to Canada where he labored among the Algonquins and Montagnais until Quebec was taken in 1629 and he became a prisoner. In 1633 he returned to Canada, where he remained until his death on May 12, 1646. More than forty years passed after the enforced departure of Fathers Biard and Masse before another missionary was sent to the Abnakis.

Six years after the jubilee of 1625, Commander Noel Bruart de Sillery, Knight of Malta, renounced his brilliant life at the court of King Louis XII and became a devout cleric. In 1637 he founded Sillery, a mission station sometimes called St. Joseph's, on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Here were sheltered many Algonquins and Montagnais whose love for the faith taught them by the blackgowns had caused them to give up their nomadic lives.

Among the neophytes at Sillery was Charles Meiaskwat. Hearing, in 1642, that some Abnakis had been taken and cruelly treated by pagan Algonquins, Meiaskwat and Nicolet, an explorer, hurried to their rescue. Nicolet perished in a rapid but Meiaskwat arrived in time to save the Indians whom he took to Sillery. There they were sheltered and nursed at a Hospital of the Nuns, now situated at Quebec. When recovered one returned to his village, armed, equipped and supplied with provisions. Meiaskwat accompanied him and went to visit the English at Augusta, which was then called Coussinoc. He so extolled the Christian faith that a desire to know it was kindled among the Indians. A chief went with him to Quebec where he was converted and baptized. Others followed and soon every Abnaki village had several converts. On Assumption Day two sagamores went to Quebec to ask for blackgowns, as they called the priests, to instruct the tribe. M. de Montgomery, the governor, a Knight of Malta, received them gladly and when peace was made with the Iroquois in 1646 he sent Father Gabriel Druillettes to the Kennebec.

Father Druillettes set out August 19, 1646, accompanied by Noël Negabamat and some Indians. His principal station, called "The Assumption," was a mile above the English post at Long River, on the upper Kennebec. He instructed the Indians and as a preliminary to baptism required of them three things: That they renounce intoxicating liquors; live in peace with their neighbors, and give up their medicine bags, etc. They agreed to these demands.

Although the English had just passed a law at Plymouth calculated to prevent the activities of the Jesuits, they welcomed Father Druillettes, as did Father Ignatius de Paris, Superior of the Capuchins on the Kennebec.

After laboring in the vicinity until May the priest announced his departure. Profound grief was displayed by the Indians but Father Druillettes was forced to obey and

reached Quebec in June. In September the Abnakis plead in vain for his return, repeating their appeals during the next two years. Missionaries were few and the Capuchins, feeling that their own services should be sufficient, asked that Father Druillettes be not sent back. But before 1650 the Capuchins were removed by de la Tour and on the last day of August of that year the priest set out for the Kennebec. His guides in attempting to shorten the trip, missed the way. The hardships of the journey and the consequent sufferings were incredible. After twenty-four days they reached Norridgewock, the chief Abnaki village. The joy of the Indians was extreme. "I see well," said a chief, "that the Great Spirit who rules in Heaven deigns to look favorably on us since he sends us back our patriarch."

Within a few months baptism was administered to those prepared during the previous visit. Father Druillettes continued his labors on the Kennebec until March, 1652, when he again returned to Quebec. Once more, in 1656, he was sent to Maine where he spent a winter with his beloved flock. In the spring of 1657 he took his final leave of them.

Father Gabriel Druillettes was born in 1593. He embarked at Rochelle with Garreau and Chabanel in May, 1642, and arrived in Canada on August 15 of the same year. During the winter, which was spent with the Algonquins, he completely lost his sight, but it was miraculously restored while he was offering Mass for its recovery. From then on he was with the neighboring tribes. In 1656 he travelled about the country with exploring parties. He instructed Marquette and in 1666 followed him to Sault St. Marie, remaining there until 1679. On April 8, 1681, he died in Quebec, aged eighty-eight years. Nearly forty years of his life had been spent with the Canadian mission.

No regular pastors were sent to Maine at this period. The converted Indians went to Sillery and then to Chaudière where the mission of St. Francis de Sales was estab-

lished. Two years after the departure of Father Druil-
lettes from the Abnaki mission priests were sent there but
were not permanent. It was only after the decided op-
position of the Fishery Company had been overcome that
the Kennebec mission was restored by the two Fathers
Bigot, father and son, members of the family of the French
vicompte Bigot, who erected a church at Norridgwock in
1688.

"Norridgwock (Indian name Naurankouack) was about
80 leagues from Pentagoët, which was 100 leagues from
Port Royal. The village was on the Kinibeki which emp-
tied into the sea at Sandkerauk, 5 or 6 leagues from Pem-
quit. Ascending 40 leagues from Sandkerauk one reached
Naurankouack."

Territorial disputes arose between the French and Eng-
lish and resulted in war. The missionaries remained with
their charges and endeavored to teach them the practice
and the blessings of mercy.

Following the Fathers Bigot were Fathers Julian Bin-
neteau, Joseph Aubery, Pierre de la Chasse, Stephen Lau-
vergat, and Layard. Time has left few details of their
efforts and their sufferings. The best known of them all
was Father Sebastian Rale who was sometimes called
"The Apostle of the Indians." His name is spelt var-
iously as Rale, Ralle and Rasle. He was born in 1658, in
Franche Comté, of a distinguished family. Before leav-
ing France he taught Greek in the College of Nimes.
Writing to his brother "At Naurankouack, the 15th. of
October, 1723," he says: "It was the twenty-third of July,
1689, that I embarked at La Rochelle, and after a voyage
of three months sufficiently fortunate, I arrived at Quebec
the thirteenth of October of the same year." About 1695
he went to the Abnaki mission on the Kennebec, after doing
similar work in other localities, and remained there until
his death.

Father Rale arrived at the beginning of King William's War, a period that Cotton Mather called a ten years' agony. He found a small church and almost all the Abnakis converted. Soon after his arrival another tribe came to investigate the rumors they had heard of the new religion. They, too, were converted and the missionary visited their camp. As a result the Amalingins and Abnakis appear to have coalesced.

The war of 1703 between France and England involved the Indians and the colonists. The Puritans of New England, in their effort to overthrow Catholicism, sought the life of Father Rale. In 1705 a party of New-Englanders under Captain Hilton burnt the church and profaned the sanctuary at Norridgwock. The Indians were absent from the village at the time but on their return built a new chapel of bark. Soon after, while on a difficult journey, Father Rale fell and broke both legs. When able to move he returned to the mission where his faithful Abnakis repulsed every effort of his enemies to induce them to betray him.

The peace of Utrecht in 1713 ceded Maine to England. Some of the Abnakis went to Canada, but the majority remained with Father Rale who prepared to rebuild the church. An offer to do this for the Indians was made by the English governor, on condition that they dismiss their blackgown and accept one of his ministers. The reply of the Indians contains the key to the whole Indian situation. It explains the relations of the French and Indians as contrasted with those of the English and the red men.

When you first came here, you saw me long before the French governors, but neither your predecessors nor your minister ever spoke to me of prayer or the Great Spirit. They saw my furs, my beaver and moose skins, and of this alone they thought; these alone they sought, and so eagerly that I

have not been able to supply them enough. When I had much they were my friends and only then. One day my canoe missed the route; I lost my path and wandered a long way at random, until at last I landed near Quebec, in a great village of the Algonquins, where the Blackgowns were teaching. Scarcely had I arrived when one of them came to see me. I was loaded with furs, but the Blackgown of France disdained to look at them: he spoke to me of the Great Spirit, of heaven, of hell, of the prayer, which is the only way to reach heaven. . . . Thus have the French acted. Had you spoken to me of the prayer as soon as we met, I should now be so unhappy as to pray like you, for I could not have told whether your prayer was good or bad. . . . Keep your men, your gold and your ministers: I will go to my French father.

The Church was rebuilt by the French, but the English built some little chapels in 1721.

An unsuccessful mission was started by Governor Shute at Portsmouth but the missionary, the Reverend Mr. Baxter, a Protestant clergyman, withdrew to more comfortable quarters. For some time he continued a written argument with Father Rale on the subjects of Latin and theology.

Troublesome times ensued and the English encroached upon Norridgwock. They determined to secure Father Rale, notwithstanding the guardianship of the Indians. Two hundred and thirty men under Colonel Westbrooke were sent to the village during the hunting season of 1722 in the hope of finding the priest alone. The old men and the incapacitated had been left at home with the women and children and there was no one to defend the village. But the English were seen by two young braves who discovered their design and gave the alarm. Father Rale had only time to consume the Sacred Host, take the altar vessels, and flee to the woods. While hiding behind a tree he watched the English searching for him. Unsuccessful,

they returned to the village and pillaged the church and cabin, carrying off chests, papers, the inkstand and the now celebrated Abnaki Dictionary. The story is told in Colonel Westbrooke's own words in his letter to Lieut-Gov. Dummer:

Ft. Georges, March ye 23d. 1722/3. . . . On the South side close by it [the fort] was their Chappel, 60 foot Long and 30 wide Well and handsomly finish'd within and without and on ye South of that ye Freyers Dwelling house. We Sett fire to them & by Sun rise next morning consumed them all.

The Dictionary is carefully preserved in the safe of the library at Harvard and is one of the most valuable results of early philological labors on Indian languages. The original forms a MS. quarto of two hundred and twenty pages, some of which are blank. It was published in the *Memorial of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, New Series, Volume 1, pp. 370. Father Rale began the work in 1691 and constantly added to it for thirty-one years, when it was stolen by the English.

Following the withdrawal of the English from Norridgewock the priest nearly died of starvation, suffering greatly until relief from Quebec reached him. The outrage roused the Indians to war. Their blackgown remained with them, constantly on the march with the main body of warriors as the only means of safety, although urged by them to go to Quebec temporarily.

At Naurankouak, this 15 October, 1722, [Father Rale writes to his nephew in France] for more than thirty years that I have lived in the midst of forests with savages, I have been so much occupied with instructing them, and forming them to Christian virtues, that I have scarcely had time for frequent letters, even to those persons who are most dear to me. . . . I am in a district of that vast extent of country

which lies between Acadia and New England. Two other missionaries are occupied, like myself, with the savage Abnakis, but we are far apart from one another. . . . I have built a little church which is suitable and very well appointed (*très-ornée*). I have held it a duty to spare nothing, either for its decoration, or for the beauty of the ornaments which serve in our holy ceremonies. . . . Two chapels have been built about three hundred paces from the village, one dedicated to the most Blessed Virgin, and where her statue is seen in relief, is high up the river; the other, dedicated to the guardian angel, is low down the same river. . . . As it is needful to control (*fixer*) the imagination of the savages, too easily distracted, I have composed some prayers of a nature to make the august sacrifice of our altars enter into their minds; they chant them or else repeat them in an audible voice during mass. . . . After Mass I teach the catechism to the children and young people. A great number of aged persons are present at this service. . . . The rest of the morning to midday is set apart for hearing all who have anything to say to me. It is then they come in crowds to impart to me their pains and anxieties, or to communicate to me the matters of complaint they have respecting their associates, or to consult me touching their marriages or other personal affairs. I have to instruct some, to console others, to re-establish peace in families at variance, to calm troubled consciences, and to correct some others with reproofs tempered with sweetness and charity.

In the afternoon I visit the sick, and go through the cabins of those who need special instruction. If they hold a council, a thing which often happens among savages, they send one of the chief men of the assembly to ask my assistance as to the result of their deliberations, I repair at once to the place where the council is held; if I judge that they take a wise part I approve of it; if, on the contrary I find something to say to their decision, I unfold to them my opinion, which I support by solid reasons, and they conform themselves to it. My advice always shapes their resolutions.

It only remains to refer to the feasts to which I am called.

. . . . I give the benediction upon the meats. . . . The distribution having been made I say the grace (*les grâces*). . . . At times I have hardly the leisure to say my prayers and take a little rest during the night. . . . When the savages go to the sea to pass some months in the pursuit of geese they build on an island a church which they cover with bark and near which they set up a little cabin for my residence. I am careful to take along a portion of the ornaments and divine service is attended with the same decency and the same concours of people as at the village.

You see, my dear nephew, what are my occupations. 'As to what concerns me personally I assure you that I neither see, nor hear, nor speak, anything but savage. My food is simple and light. I have never been able to acquire the taste for the meat and smoked fish of the savages; my nourishment is nothing but Indian corn, which is pounded and of which I make every day a kind of porridge that I cook with water. The only relish that I add to it is in mingling a little sugar to correct the insipidity of it. There is no lack of sugar in these forests. [He speaks here of maple sugar.] The whole Abnaki nation is Christian and full of zeal for the maintenance of its religion. This attachment to the Catholic faith has hitherto caused the nation to prefer our alliance to the advantages they might realize from the English, their neighbors. . . . Here is the bond that unites them with the French.

In 1723 the missions were so reduced that a priest went to Europe seeking aid for the Abnakis whose only offence was a preference for Catholicism and the French. Before concluding peace the following year, the English resolved on a final attempt to kill Father Rale. On August 25, 1724, a band of two hundred English and Mohawks, with seventeen whale boats, under Captains Harmon, Mounton, Brown and Bene, suddenly surrounded the village. The braves seized their arms and rushed to meet them but the priest was the first to appear. He had been warned of the

attack but owing to the time of year disbelieved the report. Aware of its object, he hoped to save his flock by sacrificing his own life. He had just reached the mission cross when a volley laid him dead at its foot, with seven chiefs who had gathered round him. His body was found pierced with bullets, his scalp torn off, his skull crushed, his mouth and eyes filled with mud and his limbs fractured. On their return to their war-blasted homes it was buried by his converts where the altar had stood, among the ruins of the church. His torn and riddled habit was sent to Quebec.

English historians represent the martyred Rale as spending his last moments in a hut, defending himself and killing an English prisoner. Dr. Harris in a paper published in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, II., Volume viii, and Dr. Francis in his classic *Biography*, both acknowledge these aspersions to be entirely unfounded. The French account is from the lips of surviving Indian participants. Father Rale, esteemed a martyr by Catholics, and a blood-thirsty inciter of Indian warfare by many Protestants, was the greatest of the Abnaki missionaries. His position was trying. He could not counsel the Indians to submit to the iniquitous treatment of the English. But though he urged resistance there is no evidence that he incited cruelty. His influence was the only restraining one the Indians knew. A governor of Maine stated: "that when the old man expired before the altar he had reared, the barbarism, which he had only in a manner controlled, broke loose." The example set by the English, the only one left, was not an elevating one.

Father Rale was trained in the old faith and in opposition to reforming ideas. He was deeply impressed with the papal program of the day, namely the extirpation of heresy, and of the conversion of the heathen in America, even at the cost of martyrdom. He was the choice of an elect order for a peculiar service, a "chosen vessel," and

his service promised the greatest suffering and least worldly advantage. He was learned, zealous, laborious, careful of his flock's religious progress. From his arrival in Quebec in 1689, a young man of thirty-two, until his death thirty-five years later, a partial cripple of sixty-seven years, his life was spent in solitary, unrelieved labor in a wilderness among savages. He was a pioneer of civilization as well as of christianity in Maine. The Indians were so disheartened by his death that many of them went to Canada; and the village and mission were for the time practically abandoned.

On the twenty-ninth of August, 1833, Bishop Benedict Joseph Fenwick, S. J., of the See of Maine, visited the site where the village of Norridgwock had stood. After addressing the great multitude gathered there for the occasion he ordered raised a monument to the memory of Sebastian Rale on the spot where, one hundred and nine years before, his mutilated body had been laid to rest. The shaft is a single block of granite surmounted by a cross and raised on a pedestal. The Latin inscription at the base tells of the pastor and his flock. In all the monument is twenty feet high.

The martyr's life among the Abnakis has been made the subject of a tale by Henrietta Tozier Totman of Maine. It was published in *The Trail of the Pioneer*, by Maine Club Women. In a note the author states: "The decision of Father Rale against whatever odds, to struggle on for the cause of human justice and a closer following of Christ, is one of the noblest examples of moral heroism." Sketches of the priest's strong box, of the chapel bell and of the monument illustrate the text.

Letters from Father Rale to Governor Vaudrent of Canada and to relatives in France give graphic descriptions of conditions in Maine in the seventeenth century and of his labors and trials.

After repeated requests from the Indians for a missionary the Superior at Quebec sent Father James de Sirrenne to Norridgewock in 1730. Under his care the mission again prospered.

Father Germain was the last of the old Jesuit missionaries in Maine. His station was at St. Anne, an island in the St. John, near the side of the present town of Fredericton. From there he visited the various tribes scattered throughout Maine, where for several years there were no resident missionaries and where the churches had been burned and many of the converts killed. The Jesuits and the Recollects had been suppressed by the English. From these two orders many of the missionaries had been drawn, and, as the old members died their places were unfilled. During this period of practical desertion of the Maine missions, a wave of Protestantism began to sweep over the State. The Congregationalists took the lead. In an effort to counteract this Bishop Carroll of Maryland, a member of the Society of Jesus, succeeded in 1784 in sending Father Ciquard, of the Congregation of St. Sulpice, to Old Town where he remained for ten years.

Father Ciquard was born at Clermont, France, and was ordained a priest in 1779. He joined the Sulpicians and when the French Revolution broke out was Director of the Theological Seminary at Brouges. He came to America to join his order at Montreal but was not permitted by the English authorities to enter Canada. He labored in the United States and New Brunswick until, finally, he was allowed to go to St. Francis de Sales where he remained for many years. He was much revered there and in Montreal where he died.

The annals of Maine abound with involuntary testimony of the efforts of the early missionaries to bring light into the darkness of its forests. The *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, *The Proceedings* of the same organization,

and many other works quote letters written to the proprietors in England by their agents in Maine concerning this work. About 1689 Jeremy Dummer, Agent for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, of which Maine was then a part, wrote to the English King: "that many French Popish Priests reside among the Indians in these parts". In a Memorial, dated Casco Bay, June 3, 1701, a proposal was made to the Indians by the English to "enter into an Union with us in the true Chris. Relig., separated from those foolish superstitions and plain Idolatries with which the Roman Catholics and especially the Jesuits and Missionarys have corrupted it, etc." The answer of the Indians is, as always, to the point. It clarifies the difference in the motives of the French and English pioneers.

Ind. Ansr. It much surprizeth us that you should propose anything of Religion to us, for we did not think that anything of that nature would have been mentioned.

Furthermore nothing of that nature was mentioned when the peace was concluded between all Nations. Furthermore the English formerly neglected to instruct us in Religion which if they had offered it to us we should have embraced it and detested the Religion which we now profess, but now being instructed by the French we have promised to be true to the God in our Religion, and it is this we propose to stand by.

An Answer to the First Query Propos'd by the Rt. Honble the Lords of Trade, etc., referring to the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. . . . In the neighborhood of this Province to the North East or towards Nova Scotia there are two tribes of Indians one of them known by the name of Kennibeeck Indians one hundred fighting men who live chiefly at a place called Noridgiawack within a Sort of Fort made of Wood and where, is a small chapel and a Jesuit. . . . both tribes too much inclined to the French Interest thro the influence of the Jesuits who have allways one among them.

The story of the English hatred of the missionaries could be drawn out indefinitely by the letters sent to England by various agents in America. They convict the English of intolerance and their dealings with the Indians convict them of commercialism. An abstract from the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* says: "With the English adventurers at this time the national spirit and commercial advantage were moving considerations. The French, who shared the Roman faith and discipline with their Spanish exemplars, took with them their spiritual guides and made the conversion of the heathen and the authority of the church a kind of higher rule and argument in all their undertakings in America. Thus in any national or individual expeditions, especially, according to Father Biard, those that promised suffering and little honor, expeditions beaucoup pénible et peu honorable, the Jesuits were likely to have a hand."

Michelet treated the Jesuits with extraordinary severity. He particularly attacked the character and motives of the Canadian missionaries. His "words have a bitterness that comes from deep-seated prejudice and to a fair critic the sting is lost." In answer to Michelet the Jesuits published in Paris in 1864 the evidence of their trials and labors. From the archives in the Vatican Library were collected and translated original letters covering the early part of the seventeenth century.

Another author says: "The Company of Jesus, so called, has probably been more spoken against than any other of the monastic orders, for the simple reason that its trained ability and free methods made it the most efficient of all such orders. Indeed, it might be called the order 'of all the talents'."

Speaking of the Indians the English historian, Penhallow, says: "I asked one of their chief sachems wherefore it was that his people were so bigoted to the French,

considering that their traffic with them was not so advantageous as with the English! The savage gravely answered, 'that the Friars taught them to pray, but the English never did!' There was too much truth in the reply. . . . The Frenchman came to his pagan soul with the knowledge of his faith and of his God, and showed more zeal to gain his confidence and his affection than to secure his furs."

John Minot wrote from Marblehead, October 4, 1725, to his father, Colonel Stephen Minot, a merchant in Boston; "I observ'd the Jesuits allways gain'd more on them [the Indians] by their blameless watchfull carriage to them then by any other of their artful methods. Example is before precept with them."

A petition from Wm. McClenachan, Clerk, to Governor Belchers of Massachusetts Bay Providence, May 28, 1740, says: "Your Pet'r further shows that by the Royall Charter granted to this Province Toleration is granted to all denom'ns of Christians Except Papists."

The following letter from Governor Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle indicates the attempts made to substitute Puritanism for Catholicism. "Boston, Aug. 15, 1746. . . . and removing the Romish priests out of the province and introducing protestant English schools and French Protestant ministers, and due encouragement given to such of the Inhabitants as shall conform to the Protestant Religion, and send their children to the English Schools, the present Inhabitants might probably at least be kept in Subjection to his Majesty's Government."

These attempts were not wholly successful. One hundred years later Bishop John B. Fitzpatrick, successor to Bishop Fenwick, resolved to revive the old Abnaki mission of the Assumption on the Kennebec. He gave it into the care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who had founded it. In 1848 Father John Bapst was sent to Old Town, the sequestered spot on the river that had once been Norridgewock.

Less than a decade later Father Bapst was in charge of the parish of Ellsworth, Maine. The secret society known as "Know-Nothings," had recently been organized with the avowed object of destroying Catholicity. Outrages were numerous and Father Bapst did not escape. One day while he was hearing confessions the venerable man was dragged from his house, stripped and placed on a rail. He was carried some distance exposed to insults and taunts. The rail broke and the priest fell to the ground. He was then tarred and feathered and left lying there apparently helpless and alone. To the intense surprise of everyone he said mass the following morning. |

In a letter to John O'Kane Murray, writer of *A Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States of America*, the learned missionary, Reverend Eugene Vestromile, D.D., says :

It was the year of the Know-Nothings, and the Bostonians yet recollect the trouble which this secret organization, led by that rascal profanely called the Angel Gabriel, caused them. On Sunday evening a mob numbering many thousands had come to attack and demolish St. Mary's church, and to murder the priests in the house attached to it. I was obliged to pass through the mob to attend a sick call. Had they known who I was, I do not know what would have become of me. But I took the precaution of disguising myself.

I was soon afterwards sent to Maine. My first reception in that State often reverts to my mind. It was in the times of outrages at Ellsworth towards Rev. J. Bapst, S. J. I was going to him. By steamer I went to Bucksport; there I took the stage for Ellsworth, and I had no objection to be known as a priest. We landed at the hotel, and it was whispered all around "A priest! A priest!" Some commenced to bark at me, others to laugh, others to sneer, others to threaten and snap their fingers at me. I wondered whether I was in a town of dogs, savages, or wild animals! . . . I

simply asked where the priest's house was. It was indicated, and when I reached it, I found all the windows smashed, and learned from the housekeeper, who was sick, that the day before, the mob had assailed the house with stones, and smashed many things; and that Father Bapst had gone to Bangor. By telegraph I received a message to go to Bangor. At nine P. M. I went to the hotel to engage the stage for Bangor at one o'clock A. M.; and in returning to the house I was followed by a number of men, threatening me. I was alone and the street was solitary. They walked behind me threatening and cursing the priest. I stopped to let them pass on, which they did, but they finally stopped at the corner where I was to turn to the right to the house. Perceiving their wicked intention, I determined not to go to the house, but to continue my way up the hill, feigning to go elsewhere. I wore a white duster and a white straw hat. . . . At one A. M. the stage called for me and I was glad to get out of Ellsworth.

I must add, that after the affair of Ellsworth, when they tarred and feathered Father Bapst, I attended that mission, and twice saw the tar and feathers intended for me; . . . I need not mention that they threatened to shoot me.

The object of the Know-Nothings was "to resist the insidious policy of the Church of Rome and other foreign influence against the institutions of our country, by placing in all offices in the gift of the people, or by appointment, none but native born Protestant citizens". An oath bound all members to remove "all Roman Catholics and all foreigners from office".

When Maine became a state in 1820 there were few Catholic churches. The retarded growth of religion was slow to resume. An increase in industries and consequently in population brought greater need and the supply came with the demand.

The See of Maine and New Hampshire was instituted in 1853, with eight priests who shared the persecution that has been the fate of every denomination in turn. They were

turned out of town, and hunted, and the churches were burned.

The Catholic population in 1874 was 80,000, with twenty-three schools. In 1884 a separation occurred between the two states and in Maine, under the brilliant leadership of Bishop Walsh, the church made remarkable advances. Catholics in 1920 numbered 160,638, with one hundred and forty-two priests, many educational institutions, hospitals, orphanages, asylums and homes. Notwithstanding this advance, Father Dennis A. McCabe, of the parish of Whitefield, is as much a missionary as were his distant predecessors. He was born in Ireland in 1873 and was brought to America by his parents while a young child. When seventeen years of age he returned to Ireland and completed his education at the Jesuit College at Mungret, County Limerick, where Bishop Curley and six other American bishops received their training.

Father McCabe was sent to the Cathedral in Portland and then to St. Dominic's in the same city. He served in several other parishes in Maine and was for five years Administrator in Augusta. His home parish is at Whitefield, Maine. It covers an area of twenty by seventy miles. Tremendous difficulties caused by extreme cold and heavy snows must be overcome and the priest is often in danger of freezing to death while on visits to the sick and dying. The temperature drops to forty-five degrees below zero.

In 1916 Father McCabe purchased some property at Boothbay Harbor, the Pentecost Harbor of Weymouth's time, and started to build a church. For some time he had been saying mass in dance halls and other public places but after the acquisition of the property it was said in the house already standing there.

The first stone for the church was laid on the day that America declared war against Germany. The Pope had just added the title, "Queen of Peace," to the Litany, and

"Our Lady, Queen of Peace," seemed a fitting name for the only war church in America. The building was started in April, 1917, and on the second Sunday in July, 1917, when the foundations were complete, mass was said in the open air, on a rough platform laid where the altar was to be.

The church is finished except for the tower which is incomplete, and the ten-foot gilded cross that will surmount it is still lacking. The walls are unceiled and garden benches take the place of pews. But the altars are in place and très ornée, to use Father Rale's words, and the stained glass windows are installed. It is Father McCabe's earnest hope that everything will be in readiness for the dedication in the summer of 1923.

On an unwooded hill the church stands high above the harbor. Every entering and departing vessel must pass it and the great cross will be to them a beacon more inspiring than a light.

There are only about a dozen Catholics in Boothbay Harbor, but on Sundays in summer, at the one Mass, the church is full. Boats laden with gaily-clad worshipers come from all directions and discharge their freight at The Priest's Pier. The sight is beautiful and suggestive. The church is open from June until October, when the summer visitors are at the nearby resorts, and Father McCabe resides at Boothbay Harbor and serves the surrounding islands. At other times he is at Whitefield. He comes to the Harbor to say Mass two or three times a week during these months. Too much credit cannot be given him for what he has accomplished in the face of determined opposition and financial difficulties.

Maine, one of the first Catholic states, slipped away. It has now many strange beliefs and very little fervor. But the influence of the missionaries upon the Indians has not been lost. Only a few weeks ago some Abnakis came to

the church bringing a papoose. Father McCabe, with the same joy in his heart as had cheered and supported Father Biard three hundred years before, baptized the infant that the faithful Indians had brought to their blackgown of to-day.

At last, Tanto, their hated god who lived "far in the West" has finally disappeared into the darkness of oblivion, into the obscurity of a sun that has set. And Squanto, although beloved, who lived "where we cannot tell, on high," has followed him, their places taken for eternity in the simple Indian minds and hearts by the knowledge of the love and the glory and the mercy of Jesus Christ.

THE REV. SAMUEL SOUTHERLAND COOPER

(1769-1843)

BY ELLA M. E. FLICK

In the order of time Father Cooper preceded Father Carter among the priests who worked at Old St. Mary's. His stay there, however, was so short that he was only a visitor, as it were, one who gave himself unstintedly in time of trouble, and then after a period of what he considered his usefulness, went to carry the blessings of his priestly ministry to other souls. It is not therefore because of any great work accomplished in Philadelphia that he deserves mention. It is rather from the point of interest of character that he appeals to us, as well as for the fact that he was mainly instrumental in the bringing into the Church of George Strobel, who later became Father Strobel, and the immediate successor of Father Carter at St. Mary's. Thus it seems fitting that a sketch of his lifework should find a place in this series of biographical sketches between that of Father Carter and Father Strobel.

Samuel Cooper's life is both interesting and instructive. As a man and as a priest, he left the impress of his personality on his time. Of a character strong and original he attracted and influenced those whom circumstances threw in his path. As a priest he was among the most widely known and most esteemed of his day. In him we find one of those striking surprises in life—a man who begins by setting the world agog with gossip, who amazes, hypnotizes,

and becomes a leader of the lovers of pleasure, then one day awakens and with all the suddenness of a St. Paul finds himself face to face with God. He realizes the emptiness, the vanity of a life of mere leisured idleness. Quickly and with the same zeal which he displayed as a leader of the worldly, he turns hermit and startles men with his penances and life of toil.

With all the instincts of a great nature, more than ordinarily endowed, Samuel Cooper, like many of the saints of old, was intense. In early life he played with the same whole-hearted zest with which in later years he worked. The ardor that made him so fascinating a dance and dinner partner, during his social career, burned in later years, like a mighty fire, for Christ and souls. The generosity that prompted him to give, until his friends bowed down and almost worshipped him, afterwards made him penniless for God and the church. His talents, charm, popularity—each helped him to serve his new master, Jesus Christ, as once it had helped him to serve the world.

Men sometimes imagine that God's saints, on entering His apprenticeship, lay aside the human traits that made them so lovable. A little thought would be sufficient to convince the most doubtful that such is not the case. Grace perfects nature, does not destroy it. Hence, we can understand that those same lovable qualities, which in the natural order attract men, perfected by the grace of God, make them the saints they become. After all, goodness has only to be known to be loved. No one ever turned away from a truly holy man. If his justice made him hard, or his piety made him narrow, an influence other than God had a hand in the process.

The ways of Providence are truly wonderful, but nowhere more intensely fascinating than in the workings of Grace in the souls of men, leading them into the sublime heights of sanctity or drawing them from the ways of

sin into the path of right and truth. God drew Samuel Cooper, as He had previously drawn Ignatius, by the way of the cross. On a bed of pain and physical suffering, close to the edge of the great beyond, his thoughts turned towards his Maker and the world to come. He saw Christ in a new light. "Oh, for a friend like Christ!" he yearned on reading over the story of the Gospels, "What a friend was He to man!"—Such was the opening chapter in Cooper's new life of grace. On that sudden realization of the Gospel picture of a friendship divine, we might say he modeled his life. Father Cooper was a friend to man, a friend patterned as closely as possible on Him, who centuries before, spent thirty-three years going about doing good.

It is the blending of the natural and supernatural that makes Father Cooper such an appealing study. His life is full of humor and pathos. Stories abound. How pleased we all are to come upon a really human story, in a biography or in a life history of one we admire. We may be very much interested in the cold recital of facts, dates, accomplishments that make the sum total of that life, but let the eye fall upon a letter, written when the brain throbbed with life, a word spoken when the heart was full, even someone's "remembered" account, and we skip over the pages between. Our hero, or heroine, for the moment, lives again.

Samuel Cooper, once converted, was a fiery apostle, athirst for souls. During his long life of nearly seventy-five years he worked determinedly, unrelentingly. In those upper circles into which his early life gave him entrance, among his but recently claimed brethren in the Presbyterian denomination, among the little ones in Christ's vineyard he spent his days, seeking to do his Master's work.

His was a full life, a varied life. Two continents claim his priestly labors and kindly deeds. Hunting the world for God he found Him in his home city. Owner and cap-

tain of a vessel, he travelled the high seas in quest of adventure. He found it; but it was other than that for which he was looking. He ended by taking service in the barque of Peter and cast anchor in a little insignificant town in Kentucky.

Second to his zeal in leading others into the true fold, was his charity. In his days of industry he acquired considerable wealth. Mother Seton was the recipient of nearly his entire fortune. In speaking of Father Cooper, co-founder of her wonderful institute, she said in a letter to an intimate friend: "He will never let us want what he can give. We never see him or even thank him for his pure benelovence. Many strange beings there are in this world." It was from Father Cooper that Mother Seton got the strange injunction which she laid on all her superiors "Never to refuse sisters to Virginia, for the sisters were to convert Virginia."—Charity, zeal, and a disinterested love of Christ are the high lights on that picture which Father Samuel Cooper set himself to copy, in the hospital in Paris, in 1807.

The clergy list of the Diocese of Baltimore for 1819¹ contains the following brief sketch of Father Cooper:

Rev. Samuel Southerland Cooper, born at Norfolk Va, 1769; ordained from St. Mary's Seminary by Archbishop Maréchal, in 1818; deceased at Bordeaux, France, Dec. 16, 1843.—Born of Protestant parents, he followed the sea for some years, and was engaged in mercantile pursuits: whilst travelling abroad, the claims of the Catholic Church impressed him at Paris; he was received into the Church, at Philadelphia, in 1807; he entered St. Mary's Seminary in 1808. He contributed largely from his private fortune to Mother Seton's Foundation of the Sisters of Charity. He was pastor at

¹ Rev. E. Devitt, S.J.

Augusta, Ga.; assistant at St. Joseph's, Philadelphia; on missions of South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia. He visited the Holy Land in 1824, and went to France in 1831: he assisted Cardinal Cheverus in his last moments at Bordeaux, and finished his career in that city; he died poor, having spent an ample fortune in works of charity.

The American Catholic Historical Researches contain an article on Father Cooper, by Martin I. J. Griffin, entitled "The Toothless Priest, Rev. Samuel Southerland Cooper". Wherever his name is mentioned the same anecdote follows. The story itself varies, but the fact always remains that he was so conspicuously handsome, that, in a spirit of mortification, he had his teeth extracted. The time and motive assigned for this act differ. Father Jordan says, in an account of the deed, that it was in early manhood, while Mr. Cooper was still a ship captain. A Sister of Charity of that day, repeating her version of the story, remarked that Father Cooper, when charged with the intention, disclaimed it. Whatever the motive, his name is always linked with the incident. Also the idea is commonly conveyed that he was an extremely handsome, charming gentleman, fastidious in dress, devotee of pleasure, the best billard player in town, splendid dancer and "leader of the Assembly in 1800". In contrast, we read of this same man, after his conversion:

His penance and austerities were extreme and seemed beyond the power of endurance. In his person, God seems to have vindicated, by miraculous interference, the character of the priesthood, when depreciated in public estimation, by the conduct of unworthy men.²

Father Cooper's mother's maiden name was Southerland. Through a former marriage to Richard Dale, of Portsmouth, Va., she was mother of the celebrated Richard Dale,

² Rev. J. Connell's *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia*.

who was thus half-brother of Samuel Southerland Cooper. No doubt Richard Dale's life of daring in the American Navy, where he served as first lieutenant under the famous Paul Jones on the "Bon Homme Richard" in the battle with the "Serapis", September 23, 1779, and commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean, 1801-02, during the hostilities with Tripoli, gave Samuel Cooper his liking for the sea.

The Cooper household were members of the Established Church of England. Samuel, though of an open inquiring mind, was a sceptic in religious matters. This was partly the result of environment and partly of ignorance. His conversion, after the Grace of God, he owed to his love for, as well as to his untiring search after, truth.

One day in 1805 or 1806, after having studied every faith, beginning with his own, after having talked with ministers of every denomination, among them Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania, he heard Mass in St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia. For the first time in his life his soul was satisfied. He spoke of the event to a friend, Mrs. Richard (Harvey) Montgomery, herself a convert only nine months before. She carried on the good work already started, by lending him a book on the teachings of the Catholic Church. Mrs. Montgomery, says the Rev. Doctor Middleton, in a sketch of her life in the *American Catholic Historical Records*, "was a woman of strong intellectual character, loyal to her church, amidst sacrifices of no little weight." She was most interested in Samuel Cooper. She knew of his long search for peace. She had also experienced the difficulties, as well as the sorrows, of such a search. It was in her home he met Father Hurley, who prepared him for entrance into the true fold.

Mr. Cooper spent ten years studying for the priesthood. Shortly before his ordination he went on a visit to Rome

and on his return in 1818 was ordained. During the last years of his seminary career, taking very literally the Gospel injunction, "Go sell what thou hast, and come follow me," he sought to dispose of his worldly goods. We read in the life of Mother Seton that through his director, Abbé Dubourg, then President of the Sulpician Seminary, St. Mary's, Baltimore, Md., he offered to give \$10,000 to charity. That very same day, Mrs. Seton, future foundress of the Sisters of Charity, had come to this same worthy priest, Fr. Dubourg, also her director, offering her services for the poor. From this little seminary in Baltimore, and the seemingly accidental meeting of three zealous souls, sprang that great order of women, whose history of charity is known throughout the world.

In 1820, after having spent the first nine months following his ordination at Emmitsburg, and nearly two years doing missionary work in the south, Father Cooper was requested to come to Philadelphia. On leaving Emmitsburg he had gone to Augusta, Ga., as successor to the Rev. Robert Browne, O.S.A., who had gone to Rome with a petition for the erection of a See in North and South Carolina and Georgia. The petition was granted by the Pope and John England was appointed first Bishop of Charleston.

Father Cooper did his greatest work in the South. Charleston (1815-1818) had just passed safely through a schism which for a while threatened discord in the South. In an account of that period a writer very aptly quotes the words of an early Jesuit superior writing to his holy founder: "Those who are sent thither ought to be angels." Pastors in the United States were regarded as missionaries removable at pleasure. The men who offered their services in the South lived in poverty hardly believable. In the Diurnal of Bishop England for the year 1820, the name of Father Cooper is mentioned several times: "Jan. 18th," we

read, "came up the river, landed at Savannah; there had been no priest here since October, when the Rev. Samuel Cooper of Augusta spent twelve days in the city. ". . . ." Feb. 27—appointed Revd. Denis Corkery to do duty in Columbia and Chester (S. C.) and in Locust Grove, Georgia, under superintendence of the Revd. James Wallace and Revd. Samuel Cooper."

In the light of the work accomplished in the South, his experience during the schism, and his great influence and social standing in Philadelphia, the request for Father Cooper to come to Philadelphia is not unnatural. The Conwell-Harold-Hogan Schism had just begun. He was looked upon by many as a possible mediator in that troubled period. His friends, no doubt, were calling for him from all sides.

Just how badly Father Cooper was wanted in the North is very plainly shown in the letters of Bishop Conwell to Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore: * "In 1821 Bishop Conwell had been at Lancaster two days before Pentecost. He had left Baltimore for Georgetown on June 1, and was afterwards at Emmitsburg He had hoped to see Father Cooper, who had started for Baltimore; and he requests that Fr. Cooper be permitted to come and labor in Philadelphia." "Father Cooper had done much good in Philadelphia." "He had great influence among Philadelphians. Permit him to come to our assistance." "Let Father Cooper be sent immediately; the people want him." "He (the bishop) understood that Father Cooper was willing on his part to come." It would seem, says Griffin, that Bishop Conwell heard from the Archbishop on the same date, June 15, for he writes again to express his satisfaction that Father Cooper had acceded to the request to come to Philadelphia. On June 20th Father Cooper had arrived and brought with him the Archbishop's

* "Life of Bishop Conwell," *Records of A. C. H. Society.*

"decision and judgment on the proceedings". This is a reference to the long-desired "opinion" of Archbishop Maréchal cited in regard to the Hogan Schism. On July 22nd, Conwell writes from St. Joseph's, where he and his household had taken refuge: "They have made St. Joseph's a very genteel church and have most crowded congregations at all Masses. Cooper is very useful." Hogan and his partisans were in full control at St. Mary's and, after violence had marked the collision of the two parties on that site, the followers of Hogan and the followers of the Bishop, Bishop Conwell withdrew to St. Joseph's, where those who were faithful to his authority, gathered about him.

From a picture drawn by Griffin of the time of the election riots of 1822,⁴ we understand better just what a restraining, helpful influence Father Cooper, with his sane judgment, must have had, on the excited, overwrought parishioners.

The trustees [says Griffin] took possession of the church and lest any bishopite should take possession of it it was barricaded, with a watchman constantly on guard. My father with other hot-headed young Irishmen determined that they would get possession of the church, before the day of election, if they had to sacrifice a limb, yea, life, for it. Good Father Cooper was taken into confidence, but he disapproved of the plot. "No matter," said they; "that was because he was not an Irishman and only half a Catholic."

Just how long Father Cooper remained in Philadelphia we do not exactly know. Scarcely a year. In the entries in 1823 his name is again recorded in the South. His influence in Philadelphia, however, did not cease with his departure. Again quoting from the life of Bishop Conwell: "In the beginning of 1824 the Rev. Samuel Cooper, a parti-

⁴ *A. C. H. Research*, Vol. XIII, p. 149.

cular enemy of Hogan's who had done much service for the Bishop, in Philadelphia, was in the Holy Land." He wrote letters from Jerusalem to Bishop Conwell. These were at first copied by hand and extensively circulated among the people. Finally the Bishop had them published in pamphlets and circulars. The notice which follows is from the *Philadelphia Gazette* of February 2, 1825. Under the heading "News from Jerusalem" we read:

The numerous friends of the Rev. Samuel Southerland Cooper now on his journey home, from visiting the Holy Land, are naturally anxious to see a letter lately received from him, giving an account of his travels through Palestine and the present state of Jerusalem. But as the original is damaged by coming through so many hands, they cannot be gratified any longer by seeing it to their satisfaction, otherwise than in print.

The following letter, no doubt one of the many spoken of above, was a copy in the possession of Miss Maria Jones, Philadelphia, and was published in Griffin's article mentioned above on Father Cooper. It gives a very fair picture of the simple faith and child-like piety of the writer.

Leghorn, Oct. 22, 1824.

I arrived in this city a few days ago, from my journey to the Holy Land, and although I have been exposed to many hardships yet I have the satisfaction to find that my health is good. The dangers are many—the climate, during the summer months, is bad, and in many places pestiferous. The wandering Arabs and the war which is being carried on with so much animosity between the Greeks and the Turks, increases the danger for travellers. I have visited Judea and Galilee; those countries were once delightful, but they are now desolate, and present an awful lesson to the human mind. I passed the Lent and Easter at Jerusalem, and had the consolation to celebrate Mass on Mount Calvary, where the Divine Redeemer was crucified for the sins of man, and also in the

Holy Sepulchre, where He was laid after He was taken down from the Cross. The feelings on such occasions you may easily conceive. It would take too much time and would extend far beyond the limits of a letter, to describe the various interesting places in and near the City of Jerusalem.

From this city I went to Bethlehem. It is now a small village, but there is a venerable Catholic Church and Convent built on the spot where the Divine Saviour was born and laid in the Manger. Here I had the happiness to say Mass. From Bethlehem I went to the place where St. John the Baptist was born, and to the desert, where he preached to the people who came out to see him. I likewise visited Nazareth of Galilee. There is a magnificent church and convent built here on the place where the house of the Blessed Virgin Mary was, and where the Angel announced that she was to be the Mother of the Redeemer of the World, as recorded in the Gospel of St. Luke, chapter 1st, verse 26th. The altar which is erected to commemorate this great event, is truly beautiful—rich lamps are always burning before it, and the spot where the Blessed Virgin stood is marked by letters of gold engraved in white marble. At this altar I had the happiness, though unworthy, to say Mass.

From Nazareth I went to the river Jordan, and to the Sea of Galilee and Tiberide. There is a small church built here, near to the water's edge, where the Divine Saviour ate fish with the Apostles after His resurrection, and where He gave St. Peter the supreme power to govern His Church, as related by St. John, chapter 21st. It is now the pious custom for all travellers who visit this spot to eat fish from the same place.

From Tiberide I went to Capharnaum. It was in this city the Saviour preached to the Jews concerning the Mystery of the Blessed Sacrament, as related in the 6th chapter of St. John. This city now lays in ruins. Some pillars and large square stones of the Synagogue are yet to be seen, and the largest I ever beheld that were used for a building.

From Capharnaum I returned by way of the Desert, where the Blessed Saviour multiplied the loaves and fishes to feed

the multitude who followed Him from thence to the land of Galilee, where He changed water into wine; and from thence I passed by the small village of Naim, where He raised to life the widow's son.

From 1823 until 1827 Father Cooper labored on missions in Richmond, Va. In 1829 he was again at St. Joseph's (St. Mary's), Philadelphia. In 1830 we find him at Wilmington, Delaware. At each place his stay was very brief. The longest of any was at Richmond, where he remained three years. Mr. Keiley in his "Memoranda" says: "Of the pious missionaries to whom the Catholics of Richmond are indebted, the best remembered is Dr. Samuel Cooper, one of the most eloquent preachers ever heard in Richmond."

Among the most interesting features of Father Cooper's life was his friendship with Bishop Cheverus, afterwards Cardinal, whose chaplain he became in 1831. From his first meeting with Bishop Cheverus until the Cardinal's death in Father Cooper's arms in 1836, Cheverus was his inspiration and exemplar. In connection with the Cardinal's death in Bordeaux, France, we read, in the life of the Cardinal: *

The news of his death, although not unexpected, occasioned as profound sorrow as if the event had occurred suddenly. Throughout the Archiepiscopal palace all manifested the deepest grief. The confessor of the Cardinal, a venerable priest (Fr. Cooper), who had come from America to Bordeaux, to spend with the Cardinal the last days of an infirm old age, was the only one who shed no tear, although the traces of grief were visible on his countenance. "I would weep with you," he said to others, "but I cannot; for if I have lost a friend, heaven has gained a saint."

During his life in Bordeaux Father Cooper received many

* "Cheverus in France," *A. C. H. Research*.

important personages into the Church. He also made many influential friendships and took part in some very pretentious affairs in the old palace.

Father Cooper loved the French. Many of his teachers at the seminary had been Frenchmen. Some of these beloved friends in America he met again in France—Abbé Dubourg, later Bishop of Montauban, France; Fr. Grassi, superior at Old St. Joseph's in 1814, later Rector of Propaganda, Rome. Although at a distance, he also kept in touch with some of his old associates—Father Du Bois, who became Bishop of New York, Father Bruté, Bishop of Vincennes. Cooper, Du Bois, Bruté, had spent many happy days together at Emmitsburg in 1818. Among some notes of Mother Seton were some words of Father Bruté: "O life of the servants of God here below, of poor, little souls trying to please Him—the hard labors of His Du Bois; the mighty desires of His Cooper; the sweet peace of impotence to His Gab (riel) and His Bet(sy). Great, great, great Lord!—tender Saviour!"⁶

Father Cooper had a heart of gratitude. He never forgot the smallest of favors. To St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, in whose blessed walls he was granted his first and greatest of favors, he gave \$3,000 in thanksgiving.

His was a thoughtful generosity that loved to take pains, to add the personal touch that means so much to the recipient. Mother Seton in a letter written in 1810 enumerates some gifts lately received from Mr. Cooper: "A barrel of honey, one of treacle, of which we make great use; a box of Smyrna figs, and seventy or eighty yards of *pelisse* flannel, besides pieces upon pieces of India muslin. . . ." It was given in the days of the little community's struggle with poverty—the cold winter days of their humble beginning. Money never could have taken the place of his own

⁶ Simon Gabriel Bruté; Elizabeth (Betsy) Seton.

wise selections, oftentimes little luxuries no Sisters of Charity would ever have indulged in unless given to them.

Father Cooper was humble, sincere, terribly in earnest. He had also the failings of his good qualities. He was impulsive, impatient of results, over zealous. Bishop England on one occasion remarks in his Diary on Father Cooper's "injudicious zeal". Just what this "injudicious zeal" may have been we are not told. He was undoubtedly an extremist, which accounts for some of the eccentricities which we find in his career. That he was also capricious and very fond of change, we infer from the many appointments of short duration. But as these were traits of nature which in a way accounted for his choice of the sea as a profession, and indirectly were the means of his finding the true faith, we can hardly expect him to lay them aside with his wordly habiliments.

In the South, in Philadelphia, in Bordeaux, he was well loved, well remembered. In all three places traditions of his sanctity remain. The traits that made him so lovable in the world of finance and society made him a better, more helpful priest. We can say of him what Father Dubourg said of Cardinal Cheverus, that he had never lost one of the many friends he had possessed in the course of his life, except by death.

If any attribute were to be singled out in the character of Father Cooper we would say it was his realization of God and His relationship to man. He realized better than many the gifts of God and the Church. A late-comer, he strove to make up in ardor what he had lost in time. At his ordination he was forty-eight years old, an age at which most men are settled and adverse to change. Born in the very heart of Protestantism, his faith and his priesthood were gifts given him in exchange for labors before which many more timorous souls would have faltered. It is difficult to tear down a house whose foundations had been laid in a

previous generation, a house which you have learned to love, a house warmed by friendships of a lifetime, and lighted with pleasure fruits of a self-earned fortune.

It is interesting to trace the influence Cardinal Cheverus had upon Father Cooper. The life of the Cardinal gives us a very fair picture of those years spent in France.

An American gentleman once called on the great and good Cardinal Cheverus, and while talking with him of his old friends in America, said that the contrast between the Cardinal's position in the episcopal palace in Bordeaux and in his former humble residence, when he was Bishop of Boston, was a very striking one. The humble and pious prelate smiled, and, taking his visitor by the arm, led him from the stately hall in which they were conversing into a narrow room furnished in a style of austere simplicity: "The palace," said he, "which you have seen and admired is the residence of the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux; but this little chamber is where John Cheverus *lives*."

At all times poor, the Cardinal and his household, during the revolution in France, became almost destitute. Again turning to the life of the Cardinal, we read:

The revolution had diminished his charities by depriving him of twenty-two thousand livres, annually, in consequence of the retrenchment made by the Chamber of Deputies in the emoluments of the clergy. Nevertheless, in order that the poor might suffer as little as possible from the diminution of income, he made the most rigid retrenchments in the expenses of his household; he retained only a single servant to attend him in church, on his journeys, and in his palace; reduced the expenses of his table, already very frugal, as much as decency would permit; and denied himself things which seemed most indispensable; even going on foot over muddy roads, and defying rains and snows, choosing to endure privations himself, rather than that the poor should suffer.

Shortly before his death in 1836 Cheverus, only recently proclaimed Cardinal, went on a visit to his beloved Sulpicians.

"In the midst of all these honors," we read, "the Cardinal was constantly sad. His elevated soul saw clearly the nothingness of all the grandeur, and found in it nothing satisfactory. "Of what importance is it," said he, "to be enveloped after death in a red, purple, or black shroud? When we have seen thrones fall, and still see daily the very foundations of society shaken, how can we help feeling that there is nothing permanent here below? How attach any value to human beings?". . . . "Oh! how gladly," he said to the young men of the seminary of St. Sulpice, "how gladly would I exchange this red cap for yours."

Reading the life of the great cardinal it is very easy to see where Father Cooper got his lessons in humility, holiness, and heroic virtue.

Father Cooper died on December 16, 1843, aged seventy-six years, at Bordeaux, France. He was sick only a few days with a cold which developed into pneumonia. Surrounded by loving friends, everything that science could do for him was done, but to no avail.

He died poor. Eighty dollars, the remains of his worldly wealth, were used for Masses for his soul. His few simple belongings were given to the needy.

In the *Catholic Directory* for 1845 appears the following: "Dec. 1843, died at Bordeaux, France, Rev. Samuel Cooper, a convert to the Faith, who for many years edified the Church in the U. S., by his charity and penitential life. Rev. Mr. Cooper was a great benefactor to the Sisters of Charity in this country, having furnished them with \$8,000 (\$10,000) as a means of entering upon their laudable undertaking."

Reviewing that copy of the Master which Father Cooper strove so diligently from the early years of his conversion

to leave us in his own life, we can say "Well done". We can set it up as a model to encourage others to work at reproducing the original in their own lives. Such copies act as an inspiration and are very effective towards the reproduction of the one and only masterpiece, Christ.

With all the qualities that make a good captain of the seas of earth, he steered his own frail vessel, a body animated by all the dynamic force of a great and noble soul, into the wider, deeper channels of life. Out on the great deep he wrestled with the angry winds, stirred up by the passions of men, the cross-currents of his own heart, and terrible storms of Satan, all of which are dangers to so many worthy vessels even nearing port. Captain Cooper, still at the helm, brought his ship safely home, ready to greet the Lord of the seas and winds, the Master who comes walking over the waters to save us lest we perish, "It is I: fear not." For it is only He who can say in moments of our great dangers, "Winds and seas, be calm!"

WORK OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN THE UNITED STATES, DIOCESE OF LITTLE ROCK, 1851-1921

Four Sisters of Mercy from Naas, Ireland, made a foundation, and began the missionary labors of their institute in the diocese¹ of Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1851, February 6. Little Rock had been established by papal brief of November 28, 1843. It comprised the State of Arkansas and that part of the Indian Territory which had been assigned to the Cherokee and Choctaw nations. The Reverend Andrew Byrne was named first bishop of the new diocese.²

¹ The ignorance of backwoodsmen in Arkansas at this time is evidenced in the following incident related in the *Annals*: "While traveling through the country in search of his flock, Bishop Byrne, a man of great personal magnetism, was accosted by woodsmen, the leader of whom addressed the Bishop thus; "Is it really true that a Catholic Bishop has come to Little Rock?" "I believe it is," he returned. Gazing inquiringly at him, the stranger continued emphatically: "Then you must be the man." The Bishop acquiesced. "Pardon me" said another, "but I always thought Catholic clergyman wore horns." "Well you see," said the prelate, smiling, "I have not put on mine this morning." A pleasant conversation ensued and the woodsmen left the Bishop's presence less ignorant than when they entered it." *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 338.

² In 1850 a colony of three hundred Catholics in charge of Father Hoar of Wexford migrated to America with the intention, and according to the design of Bishop Byrne, of settling in Little Rock and its vicinity. On their arrival in Little Rock, owing to the death of the Vicar General, Father Francis O'Donoghue, who alone knew the Bishop's plan, no shelters were ready to receive them. Sheds were their temporary refuge. Many of them died of ship-fever, others, discouraged went to Iowa where they built a prosperous settlement known as "New Ireland". Eight families remained in Little Rock while a few settled in Fort Smith. The frustration of his colonization plan was a hard blow to Bishop Byrne. The three ecclesiastical students who accompanied the colony to America, Mr. O'Reilly, Mr. Behan, both from

He was consecrated in New York, together with John McCloskey, later the first American Cardinal, and William Quarter, first bishop of Chicago, March 19, 1844. Father Byrne, Irish by birth, had labored on the missions in the diocese of Charleston, South Carolina and in New York City since 1827. The following notice from the Catholic Directory, 1844, will help us to understand conditions, and the character of the work to be done in the new diocese by the bishop, his clergy and the Sisters in their missionary enterprise.

“Three Catholic families have not settled within the limits of Arkansas for the last three years and a half. The Bishop has lately travelled on horse-back over five hundred miles and met only two families who professed the faith. He states with reluctance and pain, that he has received in his whole diocese, no more than thirty-one dollars for three years and a half, towards his maintenance; hence must the Bishop look to the charity and benevolence of the friends of religion abroad to enable him to provide both for himself and his clergy, food and raiment on the missions of Arkansas; for were all his flock, scattered as they are over a distance of fifty-five square miles, assembled together, they would not form a large congregation.”

The inadequacy of spiritual helps in the vast regions of the State of Arkansas was one cause for the gradual ebbing of spiritual vitality among the hardy woodsmen. Spiritual restoration, therefore, could become operative and life-giving only by providing those auxiliaries, the need of which had occasioned spiritual loss. The problem confronting

Maynooth; and Mr. Martin, of All Hallows, were ordained on the Feast of St. Patrick, March 17, 1851. Father O'Reilly was appointed vicar general to the post made vacant by the death of Father O'Donoghue.—*Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, pp. 354-355. (*Catholic Chronologist*, June, 1914, gives John Bahan).

Bishop Byrne was a vital one and its solution lay in the plan which he later adopted, to establish Catholic education in his diocese. After acquainting himself of the purpose and scope of the several religious orders, by studying their rules and activities, he decided that the Mercy Sisterhood was the Institute best fitted to assist him in his arduous task of regeneration.

Unable to obtain a foundation of the desired Sisterhood in the houses already established in America, Bishop Byrne sailed for Ireland in the autumn of 1850 to invite the Sisters of Mercy of Baggott Street, Dublin, to his diocese. He called at the Convent and stated the object of his coming. Mother M. Vincent Whitty, then superior of the Mother-house in Dublin, was unable to provide from Dublin a foundation for Little Rock; however, she directed him to the Community at Naas, where, she assured him, he could secure help for his undertaking. She visited the Sisters at Naas herself before the arrival of the Bishop. In consequence of this visit the Bishop found little difficulty in securing a colony to undertake the long and perilous journey, and to face the hardships incident to missionary life. Mother M. Teresa Farrell was named superior of the Little Rock Community, and Sister M. Agnes (Green), Sister M. de Sales (O'Keefe), Sister M. Stanislaus (Farrell) together with eight postulants were chosen to be her co-laborers. They sailed for America in the *John O'Toole* November 30, 1850, an entire section of the ship having been reserved for the Sisters' use by Bishop Byrne.

The scenes incident to leave-taking are usually pathetic; for these valiant souls, whose farewell was to be probably forever, whose offering was one of unselfish love, the trial must have been a supreme test of true Christian charity. The human heart of Bishop Byrne was keenly alive to this painful separation; but the generosity of the Apostolic spirit bore bravely the severance of the most sacred of

human ties—love of kindred. Three hundred emigrants on board the vessel gave the Sisters immediate scope for the activities of the Institute. Their days were spent in teaching the children, instructing the adults, and caring for the sick among steerage passengers. A storm arose which drove the vessel to the coasts of Scotland, eight hundred miles out of its course. It was thought for a time that all on board must perish; however, Christmas day, 1850, dawned without a cloud, and the beauty of the day, following such a perilous experience, was a lasting memory with those on board the vessel. The early Masses were celebrated by Bishop Byrne; Father Sheehan, a young priest who accompanied the Bishop to America, read the later Masses, at the first of which the Bishop preached. On January 23, they landed in New Orleans, and remained with the Ursuline Sisters³ until February 2, when they set sail up the Mississippi and Missouri in a river boat, the *Pontiac*, and arrived in Little Rock, February 6, 1851. This was the first Community of Sisters of Mercy⁴ to be established west of the Mississippi River. They went to California from Ireland in 1854.

The vicar-general⁵ Father Francis O'Donoghue, to

³ The Ursuline Convent in New Orleans dates back to 1727.

⁴ On October 11, 1838 three Sisters of Loretto from St. Genevieve, Missouri, opened a school in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, with Sister Agnes Hart in charge. On August 20, 1839, Sister Agnes died and was the last to be buried without a coffin according to an ancient custom. Years later when it was necessary to disinter many of the bodies owing to the spread of the river, the body of Sister Agnes was found petrified. It was removed to the new cemetery and an inscribed monument erected over the grave. The Sisters in Loretto remained in Pine Bluff until 1842, when the school was closed, and the Sisters removed to St. Ambrose, Post Arkansas. In 1845 they were recalled to the Mother-house, Loretto, Kentucky. See *Loretto Annals of the Century* by Anna C. Minogue, pp. 112-113.

⁵ Father Francis O'Donoghue, while travelling through the diocese to afford the sparsely scattered settlers an opportunity of complying

whom was entrusted the building of the Convent, had died during the absence of Bishop Byrne, in consequence, no home awaited the Sisters. The Bishop willingly gave them his own house, a one-story frame building, until their new Convent erected at the Sisters' own expense with funds which they brought from Ireland, should be ready for occupancy. Meantime the Bishop made his home with Judge David W. Carroll, while the ecclesiastical students resided among the settlers.

On the day following the Sisters' arrival, visitations of the sick poor were begun. Classes in Christian Doctrine were organized on the following Sunday with an attendance of two children;* on the following Sunday five children were present, the number increased, however, until the register reached two hundred.

The Sisters heard Mass and made their spiritual exercises in the Cathedral which adjoined their temporary residence. A building opposite the Cathedral was utilized for school purposes. On the first Monday in September, school opened with an enrolment of thirty-five children, the greater number of whom were non-Catholics.

A reading of the curriculum of St. Mary's, Little Rock,

with their religious obligation, arrived at the cabin of a family named O'Reilly. Mrs. O'Reilly who noticed the exhausted condition of the priest bade him rest while she prepared some refreshments. The good priest, worn out from his long travels, threw himself on a rough couch, the only resting place the inner room could boast of, and was soon fast asleep. When the meal was ready Mr. O'Reilly went to call the tired missionary and found him dead. His breviary was opened beside him and his hat covered his face, probably a protection against flies. The next day the pioneer priest was buried near the old cabin. Later the family left the wilderness and the grave was forgotten. The services of a surveyor were secured to search for the grave but it was never found.

* The names of the *two* are given—Adele Carroll, probably of the family of Judge David W. Carroll, and Cassie Reider. The *five* of the Sunday following were, in addition to the two former, Brigid Ryan, Emily Sellers and Lizzie Prasche.

given in the Catholic Directory, 1853, will show that the school conducted by the Sisters of Mercy seventy years ago, might be viewed as a near approach to our present-day High-school course:

ST. MARY'S ACADEMY.

"This Institution is beautifully situated on the square at the corner of Louisiana and Elizabeth Streets. The buildings are spacious (a large brick addition recently being erected) and the extensive grounds offer a delightful resort during the hours of recreation."

"The courses of studies will be solid and extensive, embracing the English, French and Italian Languages; History, Geography, Philosophy including Astronomy and the use of the globe; Arithmetic, Algebra, Botany, Vocal and Instrumental Music. Drawing and Painting and all kinds of useful and ornamental Needle Work. Parents may rest satisfied that every attention, consistent with the spirit of a firm but mild government, will be paid to the comfort of the young ladies placed in this Institution, while the utmost care will be taken to nourish in their minds those principles of virtue and religion, which alone can render education profitable; no undue influence shall be exercised over religious opinion of the pupils, however, for the maintenance of good order, all will be required to conform to the external discipline of the house."

Terms: Board and tuition, including bed and bedding per annum, \$120.00.

For day scholars:	First class, per quarter	\$7.00
	Second " " "	6.00
	Third " " "	5.00
	Fourth " " "	4.00

Extras per quarter	Music and use of piano	6.00
	Vocal Music	5.00
	Guitar	5.00
	Italian	6.00
	French	5.00
	Painting & Drawing	7.50
	Washing	4.00
Physician's fees per annum		4.00

"Payments to be made semi-annually in advance. If required the Institute will furnish boarders with books and stationery at the current prices. No deductions will be made if any pupil leaves before her quarter shall have terminated, except in cases of sickness."

Observation: To prevent interruption in the classes, visits will be limited to Thursdays, and made to the pupils only by parents and guardians, or persons authorized by them. The annual vacation will commence on the 15th of July and terminate on the first of September."

"Bulletins will be transmitted every six months to parents and guardians informing them of the health and proficiency of the children or wards, all communications must be addressed to Mother Teresa Farrell, Convent of Mercy, Little Rock, Arkansas. A new foundation of the order of Mercy will be established near Fort Smith and Van Buren, this year."

On March 10, 1851, the first candidate to the Mercy Sisterhood in Arkansas, Miss Margaret Fitzgerald, an Irish lady of exceptional culture and refinement, entered St. Mary's Novitiate. Three months later, June 22, 1851, the first ceremony of religious reception took place, Right Rev. Bishop Martin John Spalding of Louisville, officiated.

The sacrifices and services of the Sisters were rewarded in the constantly growing school attendance. The building could no longer accommodate the number who sought ad-

mission, accordingly a brick structure, formerly a meeting house, was purchased and the interior converted into class-rooms. Young ladies from a distance enrolled as resident pupils. Despite its isolation, St. Mary's school "soon swelled to hundreds" of whom scarcely twelve were Catholics. This marvelous success evoked the anti-Catholic hatred of the Presbyterian minister, Mr. Green, who, in order to rouse public opinion, called a meeting of his congregation "to warn them against the errors of popery and to draw aside the veil that hid from public view the real character of the individuals called nuns who had just come among them." He also sent a circular to Pine Bluff, a village a short distance from Little Rock, stating that on a certain day he would deliver a lecture on the "Turpitude of Rome" in the Courthouse. Bishop Byrne thought things were come to such a pass as warranted intervention; he, therefore, sent Rev. P. Behan,⁶ a man of subtle intellect and sound judgment to meet Mr. Green at the Courthouse. Before the hour appointed for the lecture, Mr. Green died suddenly. This incident, looked upon by the settlers as a visible proof of God's provident care of the Sisters, was the means of checking temporarily the further progress of anti-Catholic fanaticism. Subsequently, however, a strong wave of Know-nothingism swept over Arkansas causing many annoyances to the Sisters who were advised by Catholics and non-Catholics alike, to leave the State. As a consequence of their refusal, a plot to destroy the Convent was about to be perpetrated, when two brothers-in-law, leaders of the undertaking, quarrelled, and taking aim simultaneously shot each other, both dying almost instantly. This catastrophe again was looked upon by the rioters as a supernatural warning. It evidently had an influence on the dis-

⁶ *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 336. *Catholic Chronologist*, June, 1914, gives Rev. J. Bahan.

memberment of the Know-nothing party in the State. There were no more anti-Catholic upheavals.

In spite of anti-Catholic propaganda, and in face of the isolation and the hardships of early days, the Sisters were encouraged by the steady growth of their boarding school and Academy. Many young ladies, daughters of Irish immigrants, accompanied Bishop Byrne on his return from a business trip to New Orleans in 1852. Many others came from various parts of the State and enrolled as resident pupils.

Nine months after the arrival of the Sisters, November 1, 1851, the new Convent⁷ was blessed by Bishop Byrne and placed under the patronal care of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. The chapel, a room scarcely large enough to hold an altar and two prie-dieux, was enlarged for religious exercises by opening folding doors which separated it from the Community room.

In 1853 the first school in charge of the Sisters of Mercy outside Little Rock was established on the historic camping-ground of Fort Smith.⁸ The Church property, purchased

⁷ The first Catholic Church, built in Arkansas in 1840 by Father Richarbole,* was incorporated in this Convent. Father Richarbole left Little Rock in 1844, and later was drowned by falling off the gangway of a sailing vessel in New Orleans. The church property was sold at public sale in New Orleans and purchased by Abbé Maenhaut, who later sold the property to Bishop Byrne for two thousand dollars to be expended in Masses for the repose of his soul. The property was transferred to the Sisters of Mercy, also the obligation of having the Masses said.

* *Annals of Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 362, footnote. *Catholic Chronologist*, June, 1914 gives this name Father Richard Bole.

⁸ A few straggling houses, some wigwams and soldiers' barracks were all that Fort Smith could boast of in 1853. The Convent situated in the depths of a forest was at once the open prey of wild beasts and treacherous Indians. The proximity of these great warriors of an ancient race was terrifying to the Sisters. On one occasion a Sister while singing in the music-room felt the presence of some one in the room. On turning a tall Indian wrapped in blankets and decorated with

in 1852 by Bishop Byrne while on visitation of the diocese, consisted of several buildings, the headquarters of General Zachary Taylor during the Mexican War. Here, Mother M. Teresa and four Sisters were brought to direct the remodeling of the building for school and convent purposes, March 4, 1853. Two rooms in the barracks were fitted up for the Sisters, and schools were opened for boys and girls; classes in Christian Doctrine were also organized. A boarding school under the patronage of St. Ann and modeled on St. Mary's Academy, Little Rock, was opened in 1854. Indian children were educated here, many of whom embraced the Catholic faith.

Owing to the great inconvenience⁹ of travelling to Little Rock, three novices, stationed at Fort Smith, made their vows at this house in 1855. Bishop Byrne officiated at the ceremony, at the conclusion of which he congratulated the Sisters on the successful progress of their work and the growth of the Sisterhood, "then to be found so far at the utmost bounds of civilization, close by the encampment of the wild sons of the forest."¹⁰

beads, copper rings, and other regalia peculiar to the tribe, stood before her. Several others were watching at the window. After inviting them in the Sister continued the singing. At this juncture other Sisters appeared, the Superior bringing rosary beads some of which she presented to the chieftain, who, after selecting the longest, distributed the others to his companions, giving to each the next in size according to his rank. This little act of kindness and hospitality on the part of the Sisters endeared them to the Indians. When the Bishop came among them he invited the Indians to bring their wives and children to the Convent where the Sisters entertained them with music and singing, after which followed instructions in Christian Doctrine.

⁹ Their isolation was almost complete. It was often impossible to get in or out of the State. In 1856, Mother M. Teresa on her way from Ireland with six other Sisters was obliged to remain in Helena for seven weeks waiting for the June flood. In August, 1874, Rev. Henry Beyley, S.J. conducted the Sisters' Retreat in Little Rock. This was the first Retreat given by a priest to the Sisters of Mercy in the State of Arkansas.

¹⁰ Cit., *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 342.

From the Catholic Directory, 1855, we glean that no free school had been opened in Little Rock thus far. The notice reads:

“St. Mary’s Academy.”

“Number of pupils, including boarders, 45. A school will be opened this year on the Convent grounds for the gratuitous education of poor female children.”

Five years later, 1860, the Catholic Directory gives the following notice of the work and institutions supervised by the Sisters of Mercy in Little Rock diocese.

“Convent and Academy of St. Ann near Fort Smith, Motherhouse of the Sisters of Mercy, Sister Mary Baptista Farrell, Superior.

St. Mary’s Academy, Little Rock, under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, Sister Mary A. Craton,¹¹ Superior.

St. Catherine’s Academy, Helena, under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, Sister Mary Teresa Farrell, Superior.

Elsewhere in the same Directory, 1860, we find:

“Convent and Academy of St. Ann, Fort Smith, Arkansas.”

“This is the Mother-house and Novitiate of the Sister of Mercy in the diocese, and is situated one mile from Fort Smith, and three from Van Buren. The grounds attached to the Academy are extensive and beautiful, embracing three hundred and twenty acres. Steamboats from New Orleans land passengers within one mile of the Convent, when the Arkansas is navigable.”

Terms: Board and tuition per session of five months \$60.00

¹¹ Mary A. Carton—*Annals*.

Day Scholars per Session

First Class	\$14.00
Second Class	12.00
Third Class	10.00

Music, Drawing, French, Italian etc, form extra charges. All communications to be addressed to Sister Mary Baptista Farrell. Convent of Mercy, Fort Smith, Arkansas."

Meantime, the increase of school-work and the dearth of vocations among the native element, forced Mother M. Teresa to look to Ireland for co-laborers. In May, 1856, in company with Sister M. Vincent, Mother Teresa sailed for Ireland and returned to Little Rock the following year, 1857, with five candidates for the Mercy Sisterhood.

The ceremony of the religious reception took place at St. Mary's Convent, Little Rock, June 15, 1857. The chapel being too small to accommodate all who wished to attend the ceremony, a portable altar was erected at the front entrance to the Convent. The procession of priests and religious, the music prepared for the occasion, together with the sermon delivered by the Bishop, made no little impression on the spectators. In February of 1858, the Sisters were invited to open a school in Helena, Philip's County, at that time the richest section of the State in lands and the most thickly populated.

In order to secure the steady advance of Catholic Education in his diocese, Bishop Byrne sailed for Ireland in 1859, to secure reinforcements for his schools. On his return he was accompanied by twelve young ladies, aspirants to the Mercy Sisterhood, and several young men, candidates for the priesthood. The young ladies were sent to Little Rock to begin their novitiate training at once; the Bishop, however, remained at Helena several months to superintend the erection of a new Academy for girls, to be known as St. Catharine's. Sixty children from Helena registered in the

day school, others came from the State of Mississippi, conveyed hither in "dories" and "dug-outs."¹²

The following advertisement of St. Catherine's Academy, Helena, appears in the Catholic Directory, 1860.

"St. Catherine's Academy, Helena, Arkansas,
Under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy."

"The buildings are spacious and convenient and are situated on the heights over Helena, affording an extensive and commanding view of the city and waters of the Mississippi.

"The locality for a female academy cannot be surpassed, if equalled, in the United States. Steamboats passing up the Mississippi from New Orleans almost every hour, will land young ladies within sight of St. Catherine's. The course of studies will be solid and extensive, embracing all the branches of education, taught in the best and oldest schools in the country.

"The scholastic year is divided into two sessions of five months each.

Terms: Board and tuition per session of
five months:\$70.00

For Day Scholars

First Class, per session	\$20.00
Second Class, per session	18.00
Third Class, per session	16.00
Fourth Class, per session	14.00
Fifth Class, per session	12.00

"Bulletins will be transmitted at the close of every month, informing parents and guardians of the health, proficiency and conduct of their children or wards."

The breaking out of the Civil War and the death of Bishop Byrne in 1862, checked seriously the then increas-

¹² Small river boats.

ing current of Catholic Education in the State of Arkansas. In the summer of 1861, Bishop Byrne, while in Fort Smith on a visitation of the diocese, was stricken with a fever from which he never fully recovered. In October, 1861, he was improved sufficiently to warrant his return to Little Rock, but failing to gain strength there, and thinking a change of climate might benefit him, with one attendant he went to Helena in February 1862; before leaving, however, he signed and transferred the deeds of the convent-property to Mother Alphonsus Carton.

The death¹⁸ of Bishop Byrne, June 10, 1862, was a severe blow to the Sisters and to the entire diocese. He had been "a voice crying in the wilderness" to his widely scattered people. To the bereaved Sisters, from his first visit to the Convent in Naas, Ireland, when in 1850, he went there to seek co-laborers in his apostolic work, to his death, he proved a kind father, a protector and friend to the valiant women who shared with him the hardships that had to be undergone in the work of building up the spiritual life of the diocese.

The two years following after the death of Bishop Byrne marked a period of struggle, suffering, and want for the Sisters of Mercy in Arkansas. Their three Convents were situated within an area of military activities and constant struggle between south and north. The defeat of General Price at Pea Ridge, May 6-8, 1862, and his subsequent retreat to Little Rock were attended by much suffering on

¹⁸ The body of Bishop Byrne, wrapped in purple silk which the Sisters had on hand, was buried in a cypress box, no coffin being then available. Nineteen years later the body was disinterred and remained three days in the Sisters' chapel when the second obsequies took place, the final resting place of the great pioneer priest being a crypt under the vestibule of the new cathedral. There were present on this occasion Bishop Patrick John Ryan, Coadjutor then in St. Louis, later, in 1884 Archbishop of Philadelphia; Bishop Fitzgerald, Little Rock; Bishop Neraz, San Antonio, Texas; Bishop Watterson, Columbus, Ohio; Bishop Gallagher, Galveston, Texas; Bishop McCloskey, Louisville, Kentucky.

the part of the men from wounds, cold, and exposure. An emergency hospital was opened in a brick building, the property of the Sisters, opposite the Convent. Here were brought almost immediately twenty-five war-victims. Owing in a large measure to the meagre supply of rations and clothing allotted to the sick and wounded, the death rate was very high. Forty coffins, it is said, were the daily output of the coffin factory which stood where St. Andrew's Cathedral now stands. Aside from the horrors of actual warfare the Sisters suffered also from scarcity of food and clothing. For two years they knew not the taste of tea nor coffee; shoes were fifty dollars a pair and hard to get at that, habit material could scarcely be had at any price.¹⁴ Seven soldiers detailed for guard duty by the Confederate officers, personal friends of the Sisters, protected the Convent during the night. Several companies from Louisiana camped about the town and its vicinity. When sickness visited the camp the Sisters took care of the ailing, also after the skirmishes. The Confederates held Little Rock until September 10, 1863 when it fell into the hands of the Federals under General Steele, who at once assigned guards to protect the Convent. This military guard continued for seventeen months.

When the Federal soldiers entered Little Rock they encamped on the Convent property in ignorance of the nature of the institution. They appropriated for their own use the hay and oats from the barns on the premises and destroyed the fence which separated the Sisters' property from the assigned camping-ground. On one occasion, as given in the *Annals*, a cow owned by the Sisters strayed through the broken fence. A Sister who was somewhat perplexed as to how she could reach the cow said, "There must be Catholic

¹⁴ Confederate paper money was so depreciated in value that calico was sold at \$40 a yard; spool of thread cost \$20; a ham \$150; a pound of sugar \$75; and a barrel of flour \$1200.—See *McMaster's School History of the United States*, one vol. edition, page 423.

Irishmen among these Northern soldiers. If they see the religious habit they will respect it." With a child as a companion, she advanced towards them. A soldier seeing the Sister approached at once. "Will you be kind enough, my friend," said she, "to turn our cow back into the enclosure?" "Certainly, madam," said he in accents that suggested the banks of the Suir, "can I do anything else for you?"¹⁸ The Sisters and the new regiment became the best of friends and when the Sisters could not procure food for the children orphaned by the war, the Federal Soldiers gave of their own meagre supply. The Federal officers also treated the Sisters with kindest courtesy.

As a natural consequence of war the Fort Smith and Helena Communities were not without their share of suffering and privation. Military engagements took place almost within view of both Convents. In Fort Smith Confederate soldiers, mere boys, striplings, could be seen in scattered groups, protected only by tattered clothing, their shoeless feet covered with rags. Many of these youths the Sisters knew personally, and their hearts yearned for the boys of the sunny South who never before felt the penetrating blasts of Northern winters.

In a large barn on the Sisters' property General Steele, in the name of the government, proclaimed the negroes free. The riotous revelry of the emancipated slaves struck terror into the hearts of the Sisters. Crazed with liquor the "freedmen" armed with knives and clubs roamed the streets of the village where only a few white men could then be found. Women barred windows and doors against the sinister mob. When the turbulent enthusiasm ceased and normal conditions were restored the Sisters thanked God for what they considered a visible proof of His Divine protection in answer to their prayers.

¹⁸ Cit., *Annals*, pp. 369-370.

The paralyzing effects of the war on Catholic Education in Arkansas were felt most disastrously in Fort Smith and Helena, the former on the Texas border, the latter on the banks of the Mississippi.¹⁶ The Schools in Helena¹⁷ never regained their former prosperity. The pay-school, the Sisters' main support, was closed owing to a lack of patrons whose property had been confiscated, and who were obliged to seek livelihood elsewhere. For ten years the Sisters labored and struggled to keep open the doors of their schools, the way to Catholic Education, but on January 23, 1868, they were obliged to return to their Mother-house in Little Rock.

On December 8, 1875, the Convent in Fort Smith was destroyed by fire. This great loss, following closely after their partial recovery from financial straits due to war and its consequent "hard times", was a severe blow to the Sisters. The following year, however, a new Convent was erected with greater dimensions and more convenient quarters.

The fourth foundation of the Sisters of Mercy in Arkansas was made in Hot Springs¹⁸ from the Mother-house in

¹⁶ When the river broke through the levees, the streets were generally flooded to a depth of sixteen feet. At such times the Sisters visited the sick in skiffs. The Convent, reached by thirty-three steps was sufficiently high to escape serious damage. During the war official communications were brought in a small steamer to the general, who resided near the Convent. In 1867 when Bishop Fitzgerald paid his first visit to the Convent, the boat which conveyed him hither was fastened to the porch of the Convent during his stay.

¹⁷ In the summer of 1863, Helena was held by a Union force of 4,000 under Gen. Prentiss, the river also being guarded by a large gunboat. On July 4, the Confederates, 7,600 men under Gen. Holmes made an unsuccessful attack on the city with a loss of 173 killed; 687 wounded, and 776 missing, in all 1,636. The loss to the Union force did not exceed 250 killed and wounded, no prisoners.—See *American Cyclopaedia*, p. 617.

¹⁸ The Springs, 57 in number, rich in medicinal value, vary in temperature from 93° to 150° and discharge about 500,000 gallons a day.—See *American Cyclopaedia*.

Little Rock in September, 1880. The Sisters' residence, the gift of Rev. Patrick McGowan,¹⁹ was ill-suited for a combination Convent and School. Six rooms were however, prepared for school purposes. Owing to the unsettled condition, a result of Government claims against property owners, the settlers were not able to give much pecuniary aid to the Sisters. These disputes over property claims were finally settled by arbitration, but with great financial loss to many of the settlers, who, if they wished to retain their houses and lands, were obliged to re-purchase them.

For the purpose of opening an Infirmary in July, 1888, a building near the Church erected for hospital purposes at the cost of twenty-five thousand dollars was purchased by Doctor Keller, of Hot Springs, at the instance of Father McGowan, for ten thousand dollars. Two thousand dollars were paid immediately, the balance to be paid from the proceeds of a farm then up for sale owned by Father McGowan in New Gascony. The building was solemnly blessed and placed under the patronage of St. Joseph on the Feast of Our Lady of Mercy, September 24, 1888. Hot Springs was peculiarly adapted for hospital purposes because of its health-giving waters.²⁰ In 1895 the Sisters of Mercy were invited to take charge of the school opened in St. Patrick's parish, North Little Rock.

The visitations of the sick and the poor in their homes, and the inmates in prison formed no small part of the active life of the Sisters of Mercy in the State of Arkansas. Instructions in Christian Doctrine were given to the prisoners. Those on whom the death sentence had been pronounced

¹⁹ The last priest ordained by Bishop England, April, 1840.

²⁰ In the early missionary days of Father McGowan the poor settlers brought food to the Springs and boiled eggs and potatoes in its waters. At that time there were no doctors in the village and bath tubs were unheard of. The sick and the ailing, the white man and the Indian alike bathed there, and often cures were wrought, thus proving the efficacy of its healing properties.

yearned for and found the consolations which religion alone could give. An incident that occurred in Hot Springs and narrated in the *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy* shows the power of God's grace in the soul conscious of guilt. It deserves notice here:

Bernardino Casat, twenty-five years of age, of Spanish extraction and a native of New York, was sentenced to death in expiation of the crime of murder. His youth, perhaps, appealed strongly to the people who believed in his innocence and who brought the case to the Supreme Court for further trial. The decision of the lower court however, was not revoked. The young man confessed his crime to the Sisters, also to the priest in confession. As the day of execution approached, the feeling of the non-Catholic people reached almost the state of frenzy. They threatened the priest if he did not save the young man, his own life would be in jeopardy. The priest, who was the most respected man in the State, soon lost favor among the people and could not leave his house without a guard. The Sisters who held sacred the confession of the condemned man counseled him to confess his guilt openly, thus saving in expiation of his crime, the reputation and the life of the priest. A full confession followed.

Sincerely penitent and grateful for all favors both spiritual and temporal, he expressed himself in a letter written to the Superior of the Convent on the eve of his execution: *

"Dear Mother: . . . With unrelenting grief I address this little farewell to you as a token of my appreciation of the kind and tender motherly devotion you and your dear Sisters have bestowed on me in my trying moments of anguish and despair. No mouth can utter the abundance

* The letter is rather effusive, characteristic of a temperament and nationality not American. But there is no doubt of its genuine feeling and sincerity.

of gratitude that exists in my heart—. I, who was not worthy to stoop at your feet or grovel in the dust beside you, but by the divine intercession of our Holy Mother, the Blessed Virgin, *inspired to you*, you have directed me to the right course. . . . I, who have broken the law of nature and man, will soon be brought to appear before the Holy Tribunal where justice and mercy, are bestowed on all sinners, to answer for my numerous crimes that I committed through my weakness—I, who have the heart and instinct of God's creatures, and who rebelled against His divine will through older heads and evil influence. . . . Mother, should I gain the reward of a true penitent, I will remember the dear Sisters who directed me to my Redeemer, and fitted my soul for His heavenly kingdom. So, mother, accept my sincere farewell from one who was once lost but is now found. . . . I give my dying thanks to you and the priest and all the dear Sisters . . . , and if my thoughts can be collected in my future home I will pray for all the Sisters of your holy order.

I remain, in Faith, Hope and Charity, Dino Casat."

During the seventy years of labor in the Diocese of Little Rock the Sisters of Mercy have contributed their part to make strong the social value of religion which alone makes for social reform. Their expansion has not been wide as compared with other foundations of pioneer days but this may be due perhaps, to the other causes, causes which are present everywhere in the South, due, in some measure, to conditions which followed the Civil War.

STATISTICS.

AT PRESENT, 1922, THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN THE DIOCESE OF LITTLE ROCK
HAVE CHARGE OF THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS

Mount St. Mary's Convent, Religious

Novitiate and Normal Training

School Rel., Est., 30; Nov., 18; Post., 12

	<i>Teachers</i>		<i>Pupils</i>
	<i>Rel.</i>	<i>Lay.</i>	
Mount St. Mary's Academy			250
High School, Commercial	8	1	129
High School, Elementary, Grades, 8	7		109
Our Lady of Good Counsel School, Elementary, Grades, 8	Est., 4		Est., 175
St. Patrick's School, North Little Rock, Elementary, Grades	Est., 3		Est., 113
St. Ann's Academy, Fort Smith, Elementary, Grades, 8	Est., 9		Est., 383
Our Lady of Springs School, Hot Springs, Elementary, Grades, 8	Est., 4		Est., 115
St. Joseph's Academy, Mena, Elementary, Grades, 8	Est., 4		Est., 100
St. Edward's Infirmary and Training School for Nurses, Fort Smith. Patients during the year			600
St. Joseph's Infirmary and Training School for Nurses, 1 Cedar Terrace, Hot Springs. Patients during the year			1100
Total Number of Pupils			1374
Total Number of Teachers (Religious)			39
Total Number of Teachers (Lay)			1
Total Number of Sisters in the			
Community		Est.,	125
Novices			18
Postulants			12

SISTER MARY EULALIA HERRON.

St. Mary's Convent, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

THE SISTERS OF THE I. H. M.¹

Few books are fortunate enough to have their Foreword strike so clearly the keynote to the whole work, and create so adequately an atmosphere conducive to an intelligent and sympathetic perusal, as the well written and timely *Story of the Founding of the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and their Work in the Scranton Diocese*. The Right Reverend Michael J. Hoban, D. D., to whom, very appropriately, the book is dedicated, gives this keynote and atmosphere to the work under discussion. Thus he speaks of its purpose: "Devout Catholics are always pleased to read the story of the successful accomplishment of any work intended for the greater glory of God and for the benefit of their fellow-men. The history of the Congregation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, is such a story."

The founder of the Congregation, the Reverend Louis Florent Gilet C. SS. R., was born at Anvers, Diocese of Malines, Belgium, on the 17th of January, 1813. Ordained in 1838, he remained four years in Belgium giving Missions, and was then appointed to the American Missions. Shortly after his arrival in Baltimore the Redemptorists decided to found a Mission in Michigan and Father Gilet was appointed the first Superior.

The little town of Monroe was finally selected as the most suitable place for the establishment of the new Foundation which was intended primarily for the large number of

¹ The Story of the Founding of the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and their Work in the Scranton Diocese. By a Member of the Scranton Community.

French residents in this section of the country. While laboring earnestly to keep religion alive in the hearts of the people entrusted to his care, Father Gilet was planning to put into operation a project that he had been revolving in his mind for some time. "He foresaw that if his work in Michigan was to endure, it must be built on the sure foundation of Christian education. In the whole east territory embraced in the Detroit Diocese there was not one Catholic school outside the city of Detroit. . . . Father Gilet realized that he must have schools in which the knowledge, love and service of God would be given due importance." As it seemed impossible to obtain religious to teach the schools that were so necessary, he decided to lay the foundation of a religious community which, with the help of God, would develop itself later.

Miss Teresa Maxis, a young lady whom Father Gilet had met in Baltimore, had expressed a desire to give herself to God in the religious state. Father Gilet sent for her, and on her arrival in Monroe, word was sent to Miss Charlotte Ann Schaaf of Baltimore, who also aspired to the service of God. These two with Miss Teresa Renauld formed the first Community of the Congregation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

For this infant Congregation, Father Gilet prepared a rule founded on the Rule of St. Alphonsus. This being submitted to Bishop Lefevre, was approved by him; and the little Community was formally established on the first Sunday of Advent, Nov. 30th, 1845 when the two eldest candidate, Teresa Maxis and Charlotte Schaaf, were clothed in the new habit and made their vows according to the formula of the Redemptorists' Rule. The third member, Teresa Renauld, was received on the 8th of December. Miss Maxis took the name of Teresa and was appointed the first Superior.

Fortunate indeed were these Sisters, and indeed the whole

Congregation with its hundreds and thousands of members in later times, to have as their first Spiritual Director so holy and wise a priest as Gather Gilet. No one can fully appreciate the importance of early training, not only for the individual religious, but also—and especially—for the Community itself. The pious teaching and practice characteristic of a youthful organization became the traditions that are held up as guiding examples for its future members.

The three members of the first community at Monroe were well fitted for teaching when they became Sisters, and their training along these lines was continued afterwards. But, important as this training is, there was something still more important—the personal sanctification of the members. Father Gilet realized—and always acted on this realization—that to be a religious teacher one must first of all be a religious. “He unceasingly endeavored to foster in them the spirit which St. Alphonsus had bequeathed to the Redemptorists—a spirit of charity, humility and simplicity.” Their charity was to guard and keep safe the community spirit, and also to lead them to help with their tenderest solicitude the poor, the ignorant and the abandoned souls. Humility would aid them to perform this naturally repugnant work, and simplicity would purify their motives, give them a singleness of purpose, that of pleasing God alone in all things. It is to this spirit thus inculcated in the beginning of its existence that the Congregation owes its marvellously fruitful harvest of souls in the Vineyard of the Lord, and its wonderful increase in members and influence.

In addition to the severe trials inevitable for a newly formed Community of Sisters in a sparsely settled region far away from the thickly inhabited centres of civilization, there were two others that severely tested the spiritual stability of the new Congregation and gave evidence—clearer probably than any other—that God Himself had laid

the foundations and was supporting the superstructure of the work. Less than two years after the first Reception, Father Gilet was called away from the life of the Community; and ten years had barely elapsed when the Redemptorist Order withdrew its members from Michigan. These were hard blows. The spiritual fathers were taken away from their charge in the tender years of its infancy, but the "Lord kept the city" and other instruments and representatives of His power soon took the places of the devoted founders.

In 1857, Rev. Edward Joos was sent to Monroe and appointed Director and Superior of the Sisters. In a short time he was relieved from the pastoral care of St. Mary's and left free to devote himself solely to the work of directing the Community. "He felt that this was the work that God had destined him to do, and for forty-three years he devoted all his energies, his hopes, his prayers, his sacrifices to the upbuilding of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Michigan. His authoritative voice proved to be the strength of the growing Community. His spiritual and pedagogical teaching laid safe and secure the foundation upon which rests their wide reputation as ideal religious teachers."

FOUNDATION IN PENNSYLVANIA

Surely the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart have been signally favored by God in the exceptionally able and devoted priests given to them as Directors and Spiritual Fathers in the beginnings of their existence, just when they stood in greatest need of this assistance. This is true not only of their career in Michigan, but also of their early life in Pennsylvania at Old Saint Joseph's, and their later foundations in other parts of the State.

The name that will ever be associated with the first establishment of the Sisters in Pennsylvania is that of the Rev.

John Vincent O'Reilly. With his advent "dates the beginning of Catholic organization in northeastern Penna. As early as 1852 (he) had established at St. Joseph's a college for young men, and four years later he had founded an academy for young girls. In the establishment of these two college Father O'Reilly had the cordial support of his Bishop, Right Reverend John Nepomucene Neumann, who in his very first pastoral letter had declared his intention of having a Catholic school in every parish. . . . The college was conducted by the Fathers of the Holy Cross from Notre Dame, and the Academy by the Sisters of the Holy Cross from Saint Mary's Indiana."

The Sisters of the Holy Cross being recalled in 1858, Father O'Reilly was looking around for a Congregation to take their place when he heard of the new Community founded in Monroe. "With the advice and cordial assent of Bishop Neumann, (he) wrote to Bishop Lefevre and Mother Teresa. Bishop Neumann also wrote, saying that he would gladly welcome the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary into his diocese."

Mother Teresa and her little community were overjoyed at receiving this invitation from a Redemptorist Bishop. She was anxious to be again in touch with the Redemptorists so that the Rule of the Congregation which had been begun by a member of this Order could be perfected by other sons of St. Alphonsus. "Besides, the community was growing, and as no new missions were being opened in Michigan, the mission in Pennsylvania would open a new field and serve to make the congregation better known."

Lack of space prevents us from quoting her answer to Father O'Reilly in its entirety, but we cannot refrain from giving the following significant extract because we believe it reveals one reason for the remarkable growth of the Congregation, and their success in the work of spreading Christ's Kingdom on earth: "I cannot help expressing to

you my satisfaction on hearing that it is among the poor that we are to labor. It is exactly what we like. We have no desire of being established in large cities or among the great ones of the world."

Bishop Neumann's first visit to the new community was naturally a memorable event. He gave them their first retreat, and the lessons he inculcated then have become traditions in the life of the Sisters ever since—traditions that have been faithfully honored in the observance. How simple and how comprehensive, too, are sentences like these, to quote from his conferences and meditations during this first retreat: "Your chief study is your rule. If you observe it faithfully and conscientiously, God will bless your work. . . . I am fully convinced that a Sister who possesses comparatively less learning but is faithful to God will have more success than others, who are perhaps better educated, but who do not observe their rules faithfully. If we would be religious teachers, we must first be religious, regular in the observance of rules, lovers of silence and retirement and patient under trials."

Soon after the arrival of the Sisters a Novitiate was opened at Saint Joseph's. Vocations were numerous and the first reception and profession took place on July 24th, 1859. Bishop Neumann presided and gave the habit to seven postulants, two novices being professed. So rapid was the growth of the Congregation at Saint Joseph's that in less than a year and a half they were able to answer a call from Bishop Neumann to open a Mission at Reading, and on August 3rd, 1859, seven Sisters took possession of their new home in that city. A boarding school in addition to the parish schools for the boys and girls of St. Peter's was opened in the early Fall. A Novitiate was also started with a steady growth in the number of applicants for admission.

This latter became the sole Novitiate for the Sisters in Penna., when Bishop Wood closed the Novitiate at Saint

Joseph's and transferred the novices to Reading. This condition obtained until 1871, when a new Novitiate was established at Scranton which had been erected into a new diocese three years before.

DIOCESE OF SCRANTON

Passing over the brief résumé of the Congregation's progress in the Mother Diocese of Philadelphia, we shall now turn to the main portion of the book which deals with history of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart in the Diocese of Scranton.

Some years before the erection of the new diocese, Saint Joseph's college had been destroyed by fire, and shortly afterwards the Sisters' Academy in the same place was closed. Thus a note of intense pathos is struck in the early history of the Sisters in what is now the Scranton Diocese. As the author well describes the scene: "The convent at Saint Joseph's was never occupied after the Sisters left it, and it gradually fell into ruin. The drives and walks were neglected till nature's luxuriant growth gradually covered up every vestige of ruin and decay. The owners of the land, Father O'Reilly's nieces and nephews, having always held this place, the scene of the venerable priest's labor and sacrifices, sacred; and no plow has ever turned the sod of the hallowed spot. . . . Saint Joseph's College and Saint Joseph's Academy are now only memories, but the love of education and the aspirations engendered by their influence in the past still is in evidence among the people. . . . Saint Joseph's! What holy memories cluster round its well-loved name! The sacred light no longer burns before its altar; its ruined walls no more re-echo the fervent prayers of nuns or children; but its well-taught lessons animate the loving hearts of their descendants until time shall be no more." How wonderful and inscrutable are the ways of God! The marvelous structure

of Christian education in the Scranton Diocese was built upon the foundations laid at old Saint Joseph's, but the material, physical foundation had but a brief existence. It was the spiritual that counted, for it alone endures.

When Bishop O'Hara, the first incumbent of the newly created See, came to Scranton there were in his Diocese only nine Catholic schools. Six of these were under lay supervision and the remaining three were taught by the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart, then numbering fifteen. These were under the jurisdiction of the Philadelphia Mother House at that time located at Reading. The Bishop was not long in laying his plans for the educational future of his Diocese. These included the forming of a separate foundation of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart in his own diocese. On the 6th of August, 1871, he assembled the fifteen Sisters at Laurel Hill Academy and conducted for them the exercises of the annual retreat. At the close of the retreat he announced to them his plan of forming a separate foundation, leaving to the individual Sisters the choice of remaining in Scranton or returning to Reading. Three of the Sisters elected to return, leaving twelve for Scranton. To these pioneers was added another, Sister M. Egidius of Reading, who volunteered to join the new foundations. Sister M. Joseph, at the time Superior at Pittston, was appointed as Mother Superior by Bishop O'Hara. The Novitiate was opened on the Feast of our Lady's Nativity, Sept. 8th, 1871, six postulants presenting themselves on this day to begin their term of postulancy.

It was especially necessary to secure an exemplary Mistress of Novices, a position always most important, but especially so in a new foundation. The choice fell upon Sister M. Aloysius who had been received at Monroe, and was, therefore, one of the first members of the Congregation. Concerning her efforts in Scranton, we quote the

following: "Mother Aloysius' marked characteristic was love of rule and exact obedience. The same love she infused into the novices who had the good fortune to be trained by her. In her instructions the 'common life' was her favorite theme, and she sought to correct in her novices any peculiarity of character that might prove an obstacle to their conforming themselves to this very essential point in community life. She also tried to cultivate in them an interior spirit, and with this end in view taught them to love and value the virtue of silence, often saying to them, 'if we wish our Lord to remain with us, we must shut the door to other company.' She herself never seemed to be distracted from the present of Jesus in her soul."

The first school founded by Bishop O'Hara was St. Cecilia's Academy in the city of Scranton. The Novitiate had been started at Susquehanna, but this was intended to be only a temporary location. Within a very short time a building was erected in Scranton to serve as a Novitiate and also a resident and day school. The house was opened and blessed on July 2nd, 1872, and the Academy started on Sept. 26th of the same year. The work done at St. Cecilia's attracted a large number of students and soon the building proved to be too small. In 1873 preparations were made for enlargement. A new building of brick, three stories high, was completed in May, 1874. From this the Novitiate was removed in 1876 to Carbondale, where it remained until the erection of the present Mother House, Mount Saint Mary's, in 1902.

During Mother Mary Joseph's term of office, the Sisters took up their first work outside of the strictly educational line. In 1875 Bishop O'Hara founded Saint Patrick's Orphanage and the Sisters were given charge of it. Over this Mother Anastasia was placed as first Superior.

In 1877 Mother Mary Joseph was succeeded by Sister M. Francis as Mother Superior. Bishop O'Hara, feeling that

the community was not large enough as yet to elect a Superior, chose the new incumbent himself, and, as the continued progress of the Sisters proved, made no mistake in his selection. At the outset of her term the new Superior encountered difficulties of a financial nature. "It was a time of financial depression, and for the first few years very skillful management was required to make ends meet. The crisis was successfully tided over and the community put on a firm basis. Practical lessons in thrift were also given to the pupils in the school."

In spite of her necessary immersion in financial affairs and in the work entailed by the founding of six new schools, Mother Francis found time and energy to aid in other works. It was during her term of office that the Good Shepherd Sisters were established in Scranton. To assist them in their efforts, the Bishop organized a Catholic Ladies' Aid Society, and placed Mother Francis at its head as president. Her generous and wise direction was of great service, not only to the splendid work of the Good Shepherd Sisters, but to other charitable activities in the city. Although the letter of the Rule of the Immaculate Heart Sisters did not seem to include this kind of work, we can see from the ready response of Mother Francis to the request of the Bishop, that she was zealous enough to be moved by the deep spirit of charity that formed the foundation of the Rule.

During this period the first news of Father Gilet, the founder of the Order was received by the Sisters. One can imagine the joy of the spiritual daughters of this holy man at hearing from him after an interval of forty-two years' absolute silence. Through Sister M. Clotilde of Villa Maria, West Chester, who had entered the community at Reading as a French exile, the discovery of Father Gilet's whereabouts was made. We quote from a letter written shortly after this by Father Gilet to illustrate the marvelous

workings of God's Providence: "In truth your founder—for the work was commenced by me—what was he? A young priest, full of zeal for the truth, but without experience in God's ways—without resources. However, notwithstanding such a feeble instrument, what constitutes your glory is the fact that, by a continual correspondence with grace and your perseverance in the midst of difficulties—I might say hourly sacrifices—you are elevated to the eminence which you to-day hold, and which has made your community one of the brightest ornaments of the Church in the United States. Glory to God! Glory to Mary! Honor to you all, privileged children, chosen ones of the Queen of Heaven." Father Gilet was called to his reward at one o'clock in the morning of the fourteenth of November, 1892.

The new Superior elected to succeed Mother M. Francis was the first novice to be professed in the Scranton Diocese, Mother Mary. Probably the most noteworthy event bearing upon the progress of the Sisters during her tenure of office was the establishment of the High School and College of St. Thomas Aquinas in Scranton. This was the first institution of its kind in the Diocese to be conducted by male teachers for boys alone. Its significance for the work of the Immaculate Heart Sisters lies in the opportunity it gave them to pursue, under Catholic influences, that higher education which was beginning about that time to be more largely accorded to women, and demanded of them in their capacity of teachers.

During the summer of 1897, the first institute was inaugurated by Mother Mary. It was held in St. Thomas' College Hall. These institutions were continued from time to time with wonderful fruit. The inception of higher educational courses for the Sisters is thus referred to: "To the young Sisters of the rising generation the terms 'summer school' and 'college extension work' are quite famil-

iar. With their present advantages for higher education it may be difficult for them to conceive conditions in that regard some twenty-five years ago, when no Catholic college had as yet opened its doors to women. The few pioneers among the religious ladies who proved the conventions and sought entrance to the universities were looked upon with disfavor. It was, therefore, no small advantage to the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary to have the advantages of a private university within the sacred walls of their own cloister, with so eminent a professor as Reverend Father McGoldrick."

In 1897 another event of importance took place. Mother Mary received a request from Tillamook, Oregon, for Sisters to take charge of a school in that far-off place. "As yet the Scranton Sisters had made no new foundations outside the diocese, and it was the wish of the Bishop that they should continue to develop within the province rather than extend themselves beyond. When he learned that the new school was within the Archdiocese of his good friend, Archbishop Grosse, he gave a willing consent to Mother Mary to visit the place and accept the school if she wished to do so."

The invitation was accepted and the school started, but after a few years the Sisters were withdrawn from Tillamook and were given charge of St. Lawrence Academy in Portland, Oregon. Thus, in a few short years, the infant Order, having divided and subdivided itself, was still able to reach out to the farthest West for newer and even wider fields of activity. Only another illustration and proof of the act that the work at home gains rather than loses by sacrificing some of the workers in the interest of other and distant fields that cry out in their dire need for men and women to help gather the harvest of souls.

In 1901 Mother M. Cyril succeeded Mother Mary as the head of the community in the Scranton Diocese. "The

completion of the new Mother House and the payment of its immense debt was the task that confronted Mother Cyril at the beginning of her term of office. After the opening of the schools, Mother Cyril turned her attention immediately to the new building. Three or four times a week, and often every day, she contrived to find time to visit Mount Saint Mary's and that, too, in spite of a street car strike and a long distance to be traversed on foot. . . . By September, 1902, the novitiate of Saint Rose's and the resident classes of Saint Cecilia's had made their abode in the new mother house. The vacancy of Saint Rose's novitiate made possible the establishment of a resident school there for small boys."

The completion of Mount Saint Mary's gave additional impetus to the higher education of the Sisters. At the opening of the first Institute held in the new college, His Eminence, Cardinal Falconio, presided and took occasion in his address to emphasize the contribution of the Catholic laity to the marvellous progress of Christian education: "He counselled the Sisters to keep in mind that the teaching of youth in their own personal sanctification was a factor that ought never to be lost sight of, and that their measure of success in moulding character would depend on their own progress in holiness."

The wonderful impetus given to the normal and college education of the Sisters during Mother Cyril's term of office is probably the outstanding fact in all the years of her government. As a result of her foresight more than eighty percent of the five hundred teachers in the Scranton community of Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, are fully certified and trained for the work they are doing. A very large percentage of these religious teachers hold degrees from colleges and universities of international standing.

Among the noteworthy events of Mother Cyril's period

of rule was the founding of the communities of Saint Cyril and Methodius, and of Saint Casimir. The pressing need of looking after the children of the Slovak and Lithuanian immigrants appealed to the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart, and the work of caring for these children was begun during Mother Mary's term of office, and culminated later in the founding, under the direction of the Immaculate Heart Sisters, of the two communities just mentioned. Their rapid growth and wonderful work clearly show the designs of Divine Providence in inspiring the Immaculate Heart Sisters to add to their already numerous and burdensome duties the training of the first Sisters of these new Orders.

Mother M. Germaine was elected to succeed Mother M. Cyril on August 7th, 1913. She was well fitted for her new work. "During her long service as examiner of schools, she had ample opportunity to study the school system inaugurated and test its results. She was thus in a position, by reason of her experience, to direct the congregation toward an all-important end, the education of the children committed to its care." Foreseeing that the rapid growth of both seminary and novitiate would in a short time necessitate the erection of new buildings, she immediately began making provision for the raising of money for a building fund. The work begun by her, interrupted by the world war, is still going on. During her term of office the plans for the opening of St. Alphonsus' School in New York City, begun by Mother Cyril, were carried to completion, and the projected work began a reality, thus adding one more to the Missions established outside the Scranton Diocese.

It was about this time that the Sisters were given an opportunity to further the work of foreign missions. The Very Rev. James Walsh, Superior of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, was anxious to have the Teresians, associated with the work at Maryknoll, trained

in the principles of the religious life. Accordingly he wrote to Mother Germaine, asking her assistance. Bishop Hoban, being heartily in favor of the plan, the request was granted.

The stress of missionary work did not prevent Mother Germaine from perfecting the plans for the advancement of higher education. In January of 1917 the first step was taken toward obtaining a charter for Marywood College. On June 4, 1917, after various details had been attended to, Attorney Hoban sent to the college a copy of the completed Certificate of Incorporation with the final decree with regard to the granting of the charter signed by H. M. Edwards, Presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Thus the work was finally brought to a happy conclusion.

Mother M. Germaine was succeeded as Superior by Mother M. Casimir on August 7th, 1919. "The first work Mother Casimir was called upon to undertake abroad was the management of the Casa Regina in the city of Altoona. The work of the Casa was new to the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart, but it is in line with the latest phases of social service." The formal opening took place on December 3rd, 1919. The Sisters assumed charge on January 6th, 1920 and quickly showed their adaptability to new conditions by the splendid work they accomplished.

Another phase of social work was undertaken the same year as the Casa Regina at the request of the Right Reverend Bishop of Scranton. This was the management of Saint Joseph's Shelter and the opening of a day nursery in connection with the institution. Sister M. Clare was appointed Superior with two Sisters to help her, and the work was begun in June, 1920. Since its opening the Nursery had accommodated on an average of thirty children a day, showing that it is supplying a long-felt need in Scranton.

Under Mother Casimir's direction, the Scranton community again assisted in the founding of a new congregation of religious. The new community has for its object the

care of destitute children. This is the fourth time the Sisters aided have in a work of this kind, thus laboring vicariously for the immeasurable good of the souls helped by the new congregations.

Mother Casimir was, in the meantime, energetically, energetically engaged in the principal work of the Order. New courses were added to the curriculum of Marywood College, and, in general, the work of the grade and high schools showed continued improvement. The Diamond Jubilee of the founding of the Order at Monroe, Michigan, was fittingly celebrated during her tenure of office, and with a description of the various events connected with this anniversary the well written and scholarly volume comes to a close.

There is one fault we have to find with the book, and that is, the omission of an alphabetical index. This would be of good help to students of Catholic Church History in this country. And without doubt the work will be frequently consulted. It is a very illuminating and exhaustive contribution in its own field to the rapidly growing list of books bearing on the progress of the Church in this country. Having read the book with deep interest, "Let us now therefore," in the words of Bishop Hoban's Foreword, "praise these women of renown and our spiritual mothers in their generation. Let the people show forth their wisdom and the Church declare their praise, for these were women of mercy whose godly deeds have not failed. Their bodies are buried in peace, but their names live unto generation and generation."

H. C. SCHUYLER.

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